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TUHFAT-AL-MUJĀHIDĪN

TUḤFAT-AL-MUJĀHIDĪN

AN

HISTORICAL WORK

IN

THE ARABIC LANGUAGE

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

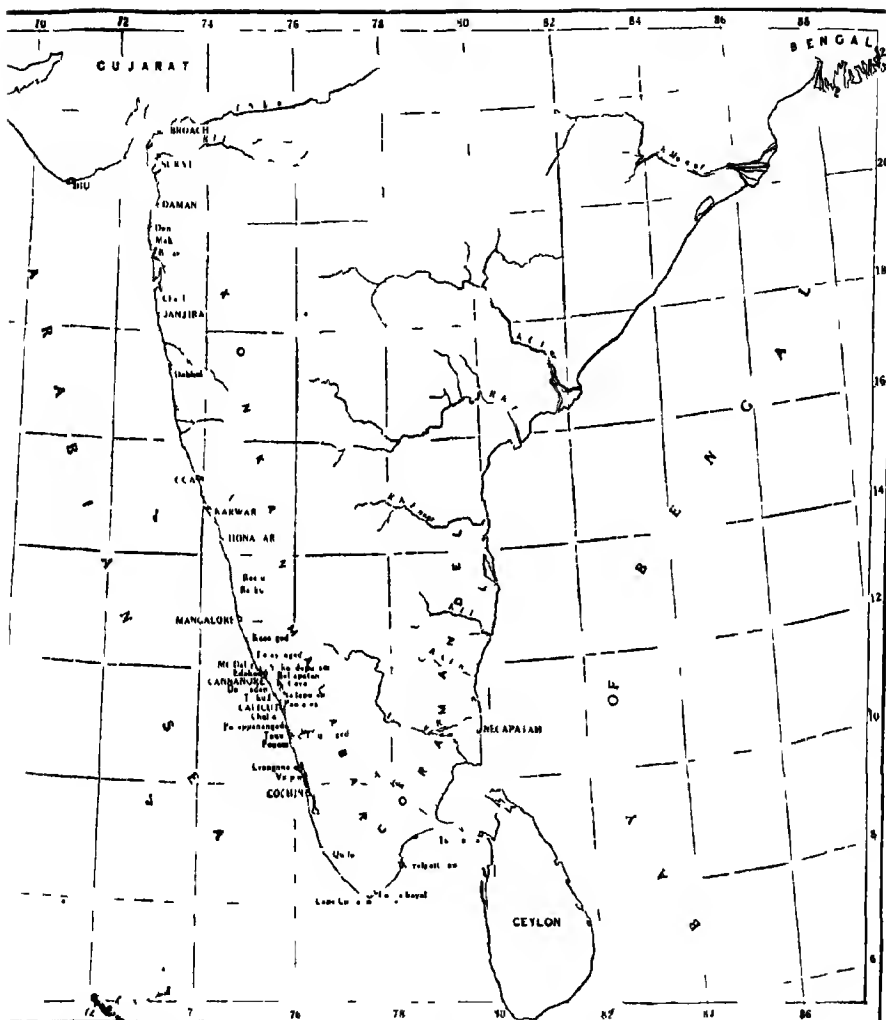
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MAP OF SOUTHERN INDIA SHOWING THE PLACES MENTIONED IN
TUHFAT-AL-MUJAHIDIN

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PREFACE

It seems almost unnecessary to state that the *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidīn* has already been done into English by Lieut. M. J. Rowlandson so early as 1833 A.D.¹ But few books have fallen into oblivion as this one. Not only Arabists have almost forgotten this work, but the geographical information provided by it, has not been fully utilised in any scheme of study of the ancient seaports of Southern India, though, not infrequently, some passing reference to this work is made by scholars.

The translation now offered to the public was begun many years ago, but its progress was so retarded by difficulties of text and other causes that it could not be got out in a form ready for publication. During the visit of the present translator to England about three years ago, he had the opportunity to consult two other texts of the same work in the India Office Library, London, and collate his copy with them. Yet the text was not at all satisfactory in regard to the quotations from the *Qurān* and *Traditions* of the Prophet. Even a recent edition² of this work was published without the First Chapter which abounds in quotations from the *Qurān* and *Traditions*.

The translator first set himself to the task of examining the accuracy of the text pertaining to the First Chapter, with good and reliable editions of books on *Traditions* and also checked the references to the verses of the *Qurān*.

1. Lieut. M. J. Rowlandson, Cor. M.R.A.S., Persian Interpreter at the Head-quarters of the army, Fort St. George, translated the work into English. It was printed by J. L. Cox & Son, 75, Great Queen Street, London, for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, and sold by John Murray, Albemarle Street, and Parbury, Allen & Co., Leadenhall Street, London, 1833 A.D.

2. The Arabic text was edited by Ḥakīm Shamsullāh Qādirī, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1931.

Alongside of the difficulty in regard to the text of *Traditions*, the presence of a large number of place names, mostly of Dravidian origin, deterred the scholars from taking to the work wholeheartedly. These names are transliterated in Arabic in a singularly crude and obscure form in all the available copies in India and England, and their identification becomes very difficult. A familiar acquaintance with Dravidian languages and also with the geographical information supplied by the Arabic literature is absolutely necessary to arrive at proper conclusions in regard to the identification of these place names. Whatever the present translator has achieved in that direction, he owes it to the results of his study of the Arab geographers, and a large portion of his conclusions regarding place names would not have been possible without the information collected for the study mentioned above. In justification of these conclusions in the present book, the translator would refer the kind reader to his work *Arabs' Knowledge of Southern India*³ and especially the first chapter on *Geography*. These conclusions would not only give information about a place, whose original name has undergone a curious change in the mouths of Arab navigators and merchants and remained all these years a puzzle to scholars, but would, it is believed, promote further study to secure accuracy about the identification. No doubt mistakes might have crept in, but as far as the information at the translator's disposal and his ability to use it go, his identification about place names may be taken as fairly correct.

Now a few words may be said about the work. Although the *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidin*, is a brief narrative, it is remarkable for the information contained in it, and it constitutes an important addition to our knowledge of the geography of Southern India and the beginning of the Portuguese history in India. It gives us a clear picture of the earlier activities of the Portuguese in Malabar. As the account is now rendered into English, it is unnecessary to discuss or analyse the details here and it will be sufficient to note a few points.

The work consists of an Introduction and Four Chapters.

3. The work will be published shortly by the University of Madras.

The *Introduction* sets forth the reasons which led the author to compile this narrative, chiefly to stir up the Muslims into activity against the unbelievers who had invaded the territories of the Muslims and oppressed them.

The *First Chapter* deals with the merits of *jihād*, giving the verses of the Qurān and the sayings of the Prophet that relate to the rewards for those who engage themselves in holy war against unbelievers.

The *Second Chapter* gives an account of the first appearance of Islām in Malabar, and the growth of various prosperous seaports on the West Coast.

In the *Third Chapter*, the author enumerates the strange usages and customs of the Hindu inhabitants of Malabar and the treatment accorded to the Muslim subjects by the Hindu rulers.

After these three chapters, which comprise nearly half of the narrative, commences the *Fourth Chapter*. This portion is entirely historical giving an account of the Portuguese from the time of their first arrival in Malabar in 1498 A.D. right up to 1583 A.D. covering a period of about eighty-five years. The details contained in this chapter lead one to emphasise four features in particular.

Firstly, the Muslims, before the advent of the Portuguese, appear to have been in good condition, and they were treated by the Hindu rulers with great respect and consideration; secondly, as a result of the Portuguese competition, the Muslims lost their trade supremacy and were no longer the sole carriers of trade to the west; thirdly, the martial vigour of the Muslims began to decline along with their fervent faith; fourthly, the Portuguese influence became all powerful in due course.

Thus with the rise of the Portuguese influence, the prosperity of the Muslims declined. The Portuguese opposed the Muslims, reduced them to misery and treated them with contempt in almost every respect. The narrative reveals a base description of their behaviour towards the Muslims. But the enthusiasm of the Zamorin of Calicut, and his devotion to the cause of the Muslims

were always unbounded. He spared neither men nor money in fighting against the Portuguese, the inveterate foes of the Muslims. Amongst the Muslim rulers in the Deccan, on the other hand, there was lack of enthusiasm or affinity for the interests of their Muslim brethren, a fact much deplored by the author of this work. No doubt the Muslim sultāns of the period did come forward to fight against the Portuguese, but they did not make much progress.

Of Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn, the author of the *Tuḥfat-al-Mujāhidīn*, very little is known. His full name is Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn, son of 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, son of Zaynu'd-Dīn, son of 'Alī, son of Aḥmad al-Ma'barī. The term al-Ma'barī indicates that his ancestors belonged to Ma'bar.

Ma'bar is an Arabic word used for the first time by Yāqūt (1179-1229) in his Geographical Dictionary, to denote the east coast of the Indian peninsula. It is not possible from the accounts of Yāqūt and other Arab geographers to locate exactly where, at what point, the east coast (Ma'bar) begins, and the exact area it comprises along that coast. Abul-Fidā says that Ma'bar begins at about three or four days' journey to the east of Kawlam (Quilon) and the first locality from the side of Manībār (Malabar) is Rās Kumhurī (Cape Comorin).⁴

Thus Ma'bar, the east coast of the Indian peninsula, seems to be the ancestral home of Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn. Aḥmad, his ancestor, appears to have been the original immigrant to Ma'bar. Evidently he gave himself the appellation *al-Ma'barī*⁵ when he began to move from place to place. Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn who is said to have lived in Ponani, Malabar district, also retained that title to suggest his ancestral home.

It appears from the work that Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn must have lived during the period of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh (1558-1580) whom the Shaykh selected as his patron. Ferishta, the celebrated historian of that period, who has a chapter on *The Mahomedans in Malabar* in

4. For detailed information on Ma'bar see my *Arabs' Knowledge of Southern India*, pp. 53-56.

5. The term means one who belongs to Ma'bar.

his book,⁶ says: "All the materials of the history of the Mahomedans of the Malabar coast that I have been able to collect, are derived from *Tohfut-ool-Mujahideen*." But he does not mention the name of the author of that work. His silence is rather remarkable.

The whole chapter of Ferishta does not exceed twelve pages.⁷ It gives a brief account of the introduction of Islām in Malabar, and the proceedings of the Portuguese there. A reading of this chapter inclines one to ask whether Ferishta could have summarised from Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn's work? It is generally understood that even the most rigorous summary of a long account must retain the essentials of the original. But in this case there is disparity between the two. The most conspicuous difference is, while the Shaykh's narrative stops with the year 1583 A.D., Ferishta's takes us to 1611 A.D. Besides, Ferishta's account contains references to the prevalence of Shāfism in Malabar, speaks of the Nāit community, and mentions the grant by the Emperor Jahāngīr (1605-1627) to the English of a plot in Surat for the purpose of their building a factory. All these facts lead one to the view that the *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidīn*, from which Ferishta took extracts, might be the work of some one else, and not the book of Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn. The question has to be investigated further with great care.

The ancestors of Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn might have immigrated to Ma'bar from some part of the Islamic empire in the fifteenth century, for the Shaykh who wrote his book in the sixteenth century, was a descendant in the fifth degree of Aḥmad, who was the first to style himself as *al-Ma'barī*.

Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn is said to have written many books and commentaries, but definite information on these is not yet available. But it can be inferred from the present work that the Shaykh was genuinely pious, self-respecting and independent. His style

6. *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the year 1612*. Translated from the original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta by John Briggs, Vol. IV.

7. Briggs' English Translation, Vol. IV, pp. 531-541.

is very simple and direct without rhetorical ornament, yet he is not free from the affectation of ornate style so common with most theologians who had steeped their minds in the *Qurān* and *Traditions*.

To these meagre particulars of Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn's life, it may be added that the Shaykh believed in pan-Islamism, for he not only incites the Muslim sultāns of the Deccan to action against the unbelievers, (Portuguese) by politely-worded remonstrance, but he has, with a glorious tribute, dedicated his work to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, whom he considers as a zealous monarch, hearty and persistent in his endeavour to propagate the Faith, and root out the enemies of Islām.

A few words may probably be expected here on the English translation of the *Tuḥfat-al-Mujāhidīn* by Lieut. M. J. Rowlandson, Persian interpreter to the Head-quarters of the army, Madras. It is clear the Lieutenant did the English translation about a century ago under conditions that were different from what we know to-day. Yet he brought out an admirable publication. Perhaps the critic who is disposed to scrutinize it closely will feel the need for a fresh English rendering from the original Arabic in the form as it is now offered to the public; also he will not be reluctant to admit the fact that considerable progress has been made in the present publication in regard to the identification of numerous names of persons and places that occur in the book.

Before concluding it must be mentioned that the *Tuḥfat-al-Mujāhidīn* gives scope for research on many points. The details furnished by the book on a number of leading events, have to be examined carefully whether they could stand the testimony of authenticated works published since the days of Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn. The introduction of Islām in the west coast, the conversion of one of the Hindu kings of Malabar to Islām, the various activities of the Portuguese in Southern India in the sixteenth century and such other information could not but evoke the interest of historians. While the particulars about seaports in the Indian peninsula attract geographers, the words like *Malībār*, *Ma'bar*, *Marākār* and *Sāmūrī* will not fail to rouse up philologists. It is hoped that the subject matter contained in the book, will, by provoking criticism and stimulating research, serve to advance and extend our knowledge.

PREFACE

9

In conclusion, it gives me great pleasure to express my thanks to my affectionate friend Mr. M. Abdul Haq, M.A., D.Phil (Oxon), Professor of Arabic, and Principal, Government Muhammadan College, Mount Road, who has been good enough to carefully read with me all the pages of the translation and make helpful suggestions.

*University Buildings,
15th January, 1942.*

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent and the Merciful.

Plentiful praise be to Allāh who made Islām victorious over all other faiths and enabled those who embraced it to gain mastery over others in successive ages. Blessings and peace be upon His prophet, the guide to the strong Faith, upon his family, his companions and his descendants till the Judgment Day.

Allāh, exalted be He, bestowed upon His servants discretion, conscience and wisdom as gifts, provided them amply with whatever they need, and showed them clearly what to do to obtain success in life. He sent unto His servants messengers to preach and admonish, to imbue them with knowledge of Allāh and to guide them.

Allāh conferred dignity upon us, Muslims, by bringing us within the fold of Muḥammad, the chosen, and thus exalted us over other nations.

Allāh, exalted be He, says :

“You are the best of peoples evolved for mankind.”¹

The Apostle of Allāh (peace be on him) said : “I am the Chief among the sons of Adam, and it is not a source of pride.”

As he is the Chief among the sons of Adam, he is the most excellent of all, and the exaltation of his nation is a consequence of his pre-eminence.

Imām Aḥmad relates on the authority of Miqdād that he heard the Prophet declare : “There shall not remain on the surface of the earth any house built of mud or of hair, but that Allāh will cause the *kalīma* of Islām enter it either with the

1. Qurān, Sūra III, verse 110.

glory of the honoured, or with the baseness of the mean. Either Allāh will exalt them and bring them within its fold or demean them and make them submit to it." I say, the Faith, the whole of it is for Allāh.

Now it is a well-known fact that Allāh, glory be to Him and exalted be He, made the faith of Islām spread in most of the inhabited regions of the earth; in most countries by means of sword and force² and in some by exhortation to accept Islām. But Allāh has been gracious to the people of Malibār in Hind in making them accept the faith of Islām spontaneously and willingly, and not out of fear or compulsion. Their conversion happened as follows:

A party of the Muslims entered some of the seaports of Malibār and settled there. In course of time the inhabitants of these towns embraced the religion of Allāh. Thus Islām took root and its adherents increased in number. The towns in Malibār became populated with them, without their being oppressed by rulers who were unbelievers, or the rights of their ancient customs being encroached upon. Allāh vouchsafed to the Muslims large benefits and they passed many generations prosperously. Later on the Muslims disregarded the favours of Allāh. They sinned and set up feuds among themselves. So Allāh empowered over them the people of Purtukāl³ from among the *afranj* (may Allāh forsake them). They oppressed the Muslims, depraved them and manifested to them their hostility in countless ways of oppression and mischief, prevalent among the people of Malibār.

This continued for a space of time, extending to a period of about eighty years, till the condition of the Muslims had reached the worst consequences of decay, poverty, and humilia-

2. The accounts in history books do not testify to this statement by the author.

3. Zaynu'd-Dīn, the author of this book has two expressions *Purtukāl* to denote *Portugal*, and *Purtukāliyyīn* to indicate the *Portuguese*, or the *People of Portugal*. The present translator has retained *Purtukāl* and instead of *Purtukāliyyīn* has adopted the term *Portuguese* in the translation.

tion. They could neither devise any means nor find out a way for their deliverance. Nor did the Muslim sultāns and amīrs, (may Allāh exalt their allies) despite their possession of large armies and wealth, care to repel the misfortune and confusion that had befallen the Muslims by declaring holy war against the infidels and spending their wealth in the way of Allāh, for they had little interest in the affairs of their Faith and had preference of this transient world to the hereafter.

I, therefore, compiled this narrative with a view to inspire in the Faithful the desire of fighting the worshippers of the Cross; for a holy war with them is an obligatory duty, because they invaded the territories inhabited by the Muslims, and also captured from among them a multitude whose number cannot be counted. They slaughtered a great number of the Muslim captives and converted a number of them to Christianity. They kept the Muslim women under restraint, had commerce with them against their will and brought forth Christian children who, in due course, engaged themselves in waging war against the Faithful and afflicting them.

I named this book *Tuḥfat-al-Mujāhidīn fī ba'ẓi aḥwāl-al-Purtukāliyyīn*.⁴ I have narrated in it, the evil acts done by the Portuguese against the faith of Islām in the land of Malībār; a brief account of the laws relating to *jihād* and the greatest reward for it and an exhortation to do that duty by quotations from the Qurān and the *Traditions*⁵ together with a brief account of the strange customs pertaining to the unbelievers of Malībār.

4. The meaning of the title is:-

"A gratuitous gift to the holy warriors in respect of a brief account of the Portuguese."

5. During the life-time of Prophet Muḥammad (peace be on him) it was the custom that when two Muslims met, one should ask for news (*ḥadīth*) and the other should relate a saying or anecdote of the Prophet. After his demise this custom continued and the name *ḥadīth*, which primarily denoted a narrative or a report, has come to mean, in the Islamic theological usage, the records of the sayings and doings of the Prophet, and is translated in English as the *Traditions*,

I have intended this as a gift-book to the most illustrious of sultāns, the most noble of monarchs, one who has made the holy war his chief consolation, and holds the elevation of the word of Allāh by military expeditions as a precious ornament. The set of his mind is towards service to the servants of Allāh. His lofty courage disposes him to destroy the enemies of Allāh. He is the reviver of the Faith, eradicating heresy and error from the territories of Allāh. His main purpose is to love the learned, and to help the strangers and the weak. He is a great ruler whom the days and nights have refined, notwithstanding his young age; he is the possessor of eternal glory, in spite of great jealousies of his enemies. The noble acts of his generosity have covered the whole of the earth, and the character of his good deeds has permeated through all the quarters of the universe. The necks of the mighty bow down before him; the nobles from among the Arabs and non-Arabs submit to his authority. He is a noble sovereign, whose palms shower rain of gems upon the learned who come from distant lands; a gentle king whose kindness elevates the dignity of the noble men who had preceded him. He is a ruler who meets with victory and success, and takes delight in pure and sincere deeds, and exploits which are recounted in all assemblies and towns, while the annals of his generosity spread in all climes. He endeavours to root out the heretics and to extirpate the wrong-doers. He spreads the banner of justice and mercy and stretches out his hand of benevolence and favour. Such is the mighty, victorious and compassionate Sultān 'Alī 'Adil Shāh.*

6. 'Alī 'Adil Shāh was the son of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh. He was the sultān of Bijāpūr between 1558 and 1580, and is known in history books as 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I. He was a shī'ā and encouraged foreigners to enter the services in his government and regain their old position which they had lost during the life-time of his father. He always drifted into war, very often fighting with one or other of the sultāns of the Deccan. He once made an alliance with Rāmarāja of Vijayanagar. But when he found out that Rāmarāja was very overbearing, he formed a league with the other Muslim sultāns of the Deccan and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hindu forces at Rakṣas Tangḍi and killed Rāmarāja on the field of battle in A.D. 1565. Very often he was at war with the Portuguese who made their profit out of the disturbances in the then political conditions of the Malabar coast and the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan.

May Allāh exalt and strengthen the foundation of the Faith by means of his power. May he subdue the impious with his blaze and disperse their parties. May his kingdom extend over the east and the west; may he exercise his authority over land and sea and over the Arabs and non-Arabs; for, he is the leader to whose noble qualities the east and the west have given testimony, and in whose service men and genii are diligent. Love for men of knowledge and godliness is his innate nature; his exaltation of their ranks and respect to their sayings is as stated in the Law. May Allāh grant perpetuity to his kindness and justice in the universe and enable him to pour on the people of the world his generosity and benevolence with the help of Muḥammad and his posterity.

I have divided the work into four chapters.

FIRST CHAPTER

The laws relating to *jihād* against unbelievers, the reward that awaits those who may engage in it, and an exhortation to *jihād*.

SECOND CHAPTER

The appearance of Islām in the land of Malībār.

THIRD CHAPTER

A brief account of certain strange customs pertaining to the people of Malībār.

FOURTH CHAPTER

The arrival of the Portuguese in the land of Malībār and some of their shameful acts there. This chapter is again divided into fourteen sections.

Section 1

The early coming of the Portuguese into Malībār, the hostility that arose between them and the Muslims and the Sāmūrī, the peace between the Portuguese and the rulers of Kashī and

Kannanūr, building of forts at Kashī, Kannanūr, and Kūlam by the Portuguese and lastly their seizure of the town of Kūwa.

Section 2

A brief account of their detestable deeds.

Section 3

A treaty of peace between the Sāmuri and the Portuguese, and their erecting a fort at Kālīkūt.

Section 4

The hostilities between them and the Sāmuri and the capture of their fort by the Sāmuri.

Section 5

The conclusion of peace between them and the Sāmuri for the second time, and their building a fort at Shāliyāt.

Section 6

The third treaty entered into between the Portuguese and the Sāmuri.

Section 7

The negotiations of Sultān Bahādur Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh of Jazrāt, with the Portuguese which necessitated his handing over to them all his principal ports.

Section 8

The arrival of Sulaymān Bāshā, the *wazīr* of the late mighty sultān, Sultān Sulaymān Shāh of Rūm to Dēw and the adjoining regions and his return to Miṣr (Egypt) without any success.

Section 9

The fourth treaty of peace concluded between the Sāmuri, and the Portuguese.

Section 10

The enmity between the Sāmuri and the Portuguese.

Section 11

The treaty between the Portuguese and the Sāmuri for the fifth time.

Section 12

The reasons for the hostility between the Sāmuri and the Portuguese and the expeditions of corvettes to make war with them.

Section 13

The capture of the fort of Shāliyāt. May Allāh help Islām and the Muslims and exalt their Faith in the name of Muḥammad and his posterity.

Section 14

The condition of the Portuguese after the capture of the fort; their great desire to corrupt the religion of Islām and to abase the Muslims.

FIRST CHAPTER

THE LAWS CONCERNING WITH HOLY WAR AGAINST UNBELIEVERS, THE REWARD, AN EXHORTATION TO SUCH WAR

Know then : There are two sets of unbelievers. One is the group that permanently dwells in their countries. War against them does not become an imperative duty on the part of all the Muslims. If some from among them go forth to war against the unbelievers it will suffice, and the rest are released from the duty. Otherwise all become accused of having committed the sin. The other set of unbelievers are those who invade the territories of the Muslims, as is the case in our narrative. The war against such unbelievers is an obligatory duty imposed upon every Muslim, who is strong to undertake it whether he be a slave or female, of the city, or a dependent, without the permission of the chief, the husband, or the creditor. It is also binding on him who is not entitled to *qaṣr* in prayer. But it will be incumbent on those entitled to *qaṣr* in prayer if the number of the fighting force is not sufficient.

If the Amīr invites his companions for the holy war against unbelievers, it is necessary that he should consult his companions regarding the affairs of the war, and should arrange the ranks. And if he succeeds in coming by some booty, he must first cause it to be collected and then distribute it by giving the spoils of the slain to the slayer. The booty comprises all that is on the body of the unbeliever, namely, his clothes, boots, girdle, purse and what it contains in cash, bracelets, weapons of war besides his beast for riding, saddle and bridle. The leader shall then cause to make an equal division of these into five shares. Of these one is again to be divided into five portions. Of these five portions, one shall be set apart for the common good of the Muslims, like the fortification of frontier, erection of fortresses, bridges and mosques, and for the payment of allowance to *qāḍīs* and *imāms*. The second portion shall be given to the relatives of

the Prophet, the descendants of Hāshim and Muṭṭalib,¹ the third to be divided among the orphans, the fourth among the indigent and among those who are reduced to poverty, and the fifth is to be given to wayfarers.

1. Hāshim, the great-grandfather of the Prophet Muḥammad, was the son of 'Abdu-Manāf. He was a man of great consequence as well as riches among the Quraysh. He was the receiver of the tax imposed on the Qurayshites by Kossay for the support of the pilgrims, and the income derived from their contributions joined to his own resources, was employed in providing food to the strangers who congregated at Makka during the season of the pilgrimage.

Like the majority of the people of Makka, Hāshim was engaged in commerce. It was he who founded among the Qurayshites the custom of sending out regularly from Makka two caravans, one in winter to Yemen, and the other in summer to Syria. Hāshim died in the course of one of his expeditions to Syria, in the city of Ghazza about the year 510 A.D.

'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib was the only son of Hāshim, by an Yathribite lady of the name of Salma. His original name was Shayba. Muṭṭalib, the brother of Hāshim, brought Shayba, the white-haired youth, from Yathrib to Makka. Mistaking Shayba for a slave of Muṭṭalib, the people of Makka called him 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib and history recognises the grandfather of the Prophet under no other name than that of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, 'the slave of Muṭṭalib'.

After the death of Muṭṭalib at Kazwān, in Yemen, towards the end of 520 A.D. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib succeeded him as the head of the Commonwealth of Makka.

'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib had ten sons and six daughters. Of the sons (1) Hārith, born towards 538 A.D. was the eldest. The others were (2) 'Abdu'l-'Uzza, alias Abū Lahab, (3) Abdu-Manāf better known as Abū Ṭālib (died in 620 A.D.), (4) Zubayr, (5) 'Abdullāh (545 A.D.), born of Fāṭima, daughter of 'Amr; (6) Dhīrār; (7) 'Abbās (566-652) born of Nutayla; (8) Mukawwim; (9) Jahm; and (10) Hamza, born of Hāla.

The daughters were Atika, Omayma, Arwa, Barra, and Umm-i-Hakim, by Fāṭima; and Safiya, born of Hāla, who married Awwam, the grandfather of the famous 'Abdullāh ibn Zubayr, who played such an important part in the history of Islām.

It is also said that 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib had twelve sons. But the names of the two sons, other than the sons mentioned above, are not known, probably because they left no posterity.

The four other main shares that remain shall belong to the captors, namely, those who were present all the time of battle and engaged in it.

It should be the practice of those who fight against unbelievers that they must, before commencing the war, supplicate to Allāh for success; they should be pious and religious reposing trust in Allāh, exalted be He. Allāh helps to succeed in an undertaking. Every one of these warriors must also guard himself against perfidy in the division of spoils. There is a great threat of punishment for the perfidious.

It is well-known that the Muslims of Malibār have no Amīr who possesses power and can exercise authority over them and be mindful of their welfare. On the contrary, all of them are subjects of rulers who are unbelievers. Notwithstanding this fact, the Muslims engaged themselves in hostilities against the unbelievers (the Portuguese) and spent their wealth to the extent of their means with the assistance of that friend of the Muslims, the Sāmūrī,² who also expended money on their behalf from the begin-

2. He is the Zamorin of Calicut. The origin and early history of the Zamorins of Calicut are shrouded in mystery. We do not hear of the Zamorin before the days of 'Abdu'l-Razzāq (1442-43). The political condition of Malabar before the commencement of the sixteenth century presents an interesting study. The whole country between Cannanore and Cape Comorin consisted of a number of petty principalities under princelings who were very often waging war against one another. The principal rulers in the area were the king of Cannanore, the Zamorin or the king of Calicut and the Tiruvīdi or the king of Vēnād, to whom the smaller rulers paid allegiance. They were entitled to wear the crown, issue coins and use the ceremonial umbrella. The Zamorin was a Nāyar by caste. Though his authority was questioned by the Rāja of Vaḷḷuvanād prior to the thirteenth century, he became later the most important ruler on the west coast wielding much influence and power. When the Portuguese came to India, the Zamorin was very powerful as compared with the Rāja of Cochin.

The origin of the word Sāmūrī has been a puzzle to scholars. Some consider it to be a word derived from Persian or Arabic, while some consider that it is derived from the contracted compound of the Sanskrit *Saṁṁi* and *Tirumalpād*. (K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*,

ning. In course of time the Muslims grew weak owing to the depression of their trade, loss of their lives and devastation of their homes and property. This happened a number of times. Consequently their weakness increased, their poverty and destitution became intense, and they became powerless.

The Muslim sultāns and amīrs (may Allāh exalt their allies), never cared to take any interest in the affairs of the Muslims of Malibār, although *jihād* was an obligatory duty upon them. Whoever from among the sultāns shall wage war against the unbelievers by spending wealth and providing suitable equipments, shall resist the enemies, drive them away from the land of Malibār, and take back the ports which they have obtained possession of and brought under their rule, such one shall be well fitted for the task, and he will be the happy ruler; for he has performed, by the help of Allāh, what was obligatory on him, and has absolved others from the obligation, thus obtaining for himself a great reward, the extent of which cannot be conceived, and winning high praise from the people of the east and the west which cannot be gauged, and the satisfaction of Allāh, His angels, prophets and apostles. He has also acquired for himself the benefits of the benedictions of the righteous from among the servants of Allāh, the weak, the poor and the indigent. In addition to the reward for his action against the unbelievers and his spending money in the way of Allāh, he gets the reward for cheering up those who were feeling weak. The Prophet said :

“Whoever cheers up a Muslim in distress in this world, Allāh will dispel his grief on the Day of Judgment.” Muslim relates this *ḥadīth*.

If, therefore, such a recompense awaits a Muslim for relieving another Muslim from one single grief in this world, however trifling, how much greater shall be the reward for him who dispels the

pp. 13-15). But it is more probable that it is the shortened form of the title *Samudragirirāja* meaning lord of hills and waves. The Zamorin had also another title *Kunnalkkōnatiri* meaning king of hills and waves. These names indicate the important position the Zamorin held on the west coast.

grief of a large number of those who are weak, by fighting in the way of Allāh. Surely the reward for such a service cannot be reckoned by any one except Allāh—glory be to him, and exalted be He.

Verily Allāh, glory be to Him and exalted be He, has urged on *jihād* for the liberation of those who are weak. Allāh says :
 “And why should you not fight in the cause of Allāh and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated and oppressed, men, women, and children, whose cry is: ‘Our Lord! rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors, and raise for us from Thee one who will protect; and raise for us from Thee one who will help’.”³ ?

Besides this, there are many other verses of the Qurān and a number of Traditions, relating to the merits of *jihād*, and expeditions therein, of spending wealth in that cause, and of martyrdom.

Verily Allāh, glory be to Him and exalted be He, has said :

“Fighting is prescribed for you and you dislike it; but it is possible that you dislike a thing which is good for you, and that you love a thing which is bad for you. But Allāh knows, while you know not.”⁴

“Allāh has purchased of the believers their persons and their goods; for theirs in return is the garden of paradise. They fight in His cause, and slay, and are slain: a promise binding on Him in Truth through the Law, the Gospel and the Qurān; and who is more faithful to his covenant than Allāh? Then rejoice in the bargain which you have concluded and that is the mighty achievement.”⁵

“The parable of those who spend their substance in the way of Allāh is that of a grain of corn: it grows seven ears and each ear has a hundred grains. Allāh gives manifold increase to whom He pleases and Allāh cares for all and He knows all things.”⁶

3. Qurān, Sura IV, verse 75.

4. *Ibid.*, Sura II, verse 216.

5. *Ibid.*, Sura IX, verse 111.

6. *Ibid.*, Sura II, verse 261.

"Think not of those who are slain in Allāh's way as dead; nay, they live finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord. They rejoice in the bounty provided by Allāh. And with regard to those left behind, who have not yet joined them in their bliss, the martyrs glory in the fact that on them is no fear, nor have they cause to grieve."⁷

Bukhārī and Muslim relate in their books *al-Sahīh*⁸ on the

7. Qurān, *Sura* III, verses 169-170.

8. As the problems of the early community of Islām became more complex, it was usual in theological circles to imagine what the practice (*Sunna*) of the Prophet would have been under each new set of circumstances and pass their judgment into circulation as a tradition (*ḥadīth*) emanating from the Prophet himself. These judgments swayed by the conflicting views of sects and parties were naturally often in open contradiction. As there were no written records or compilations of the *ḥadīth*, the students of the Tradition faced with the necessity of discriminating between them, fixed their attention first on the authenticity of the chain of authorities (*isnād*) by which the tradition was supported. They held that every tradition must be guaranteed by some reliable person as having been received by him from some other reliable person who himself had heard it from an earlier traditionist and so on back to a contemporary of the Prophet who vouched for having heard the Prophet saying the words or seen him doing the action related therein. In the nature of it the chain of authorities (*isnād*) could as easily be forged as a tradition; and so, for two centuries every movement in Islām attempted to gain support for its action by putting into the mouth of the Prophet utterances in favour of its views.

In these circumstances it became imperative to establish a corpus of traditions which could be accepted as genuine. The traditionists who insisted on the *isnād* criterion, eventually came to a general agreement that only certain chains of transmission could be regarded as authoritative. It was on these principles Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Bukhārī and Abū'l Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥajjāj Muslim selected their traditions out of a mass of several hundred thousand and gave the name *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Sound) to their collections.

Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Bukhārī was born at Bukhārā on 21st July, 810 A.D., of an Iranian family. When he was sixteen, he went on a pilgrimage to Makka, and took this opportunity to attend lectures given by teachers of the tradition at Makka and Madīna. He then went to Egypt, and travelled with the same object all over Muslim Asia, spending five whole years at Baṣra. After an absence of sixteen years

authority of Abū Hurayra:⁹ "The Apostle of God was asked: 'Which action is the most excellent?' He said, 'Faith in Allāh and in His Prophet.'"

'What is next to it' was the question.

The Prophet said 'Jihād in the way of Allāh.'

'What next?' was again the question. He replied, 'A pious pilgrimage¹⁰ to Makka.'

in all, he returned to Bukhārā, and there he compiled his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. He died on 30th August, 870 A.D.

Abu'l-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥajjāj Muslim was born at Nishāpur in Khurāsān in 817 A.D. He went to the Hijāz, 'Irāq, Syria and Egypt in order to search out Traditions. He also paid several visits to Baghdād. He is said to have collected more than three hundred thousand traditions, on which his selection is based. The matter of Muslim's book, like that contained in Bukhārī's (with which it is identical, except for the addition of more authorities) is arranged in the order adopted for legal subjects, but without any chapter headings. It is also remarkable for its introduction, wherein the author treats of the science of the traditions in a general and complete manner.

The *Ṣaḥīḥs* of Bukhārī and Muslim have become two canonical books of Islām. They may be considered to sum up the science of tradition in the third century of the *Hijra*. Four other works complete the six canonical books to which Muslims pay great respect. They were all produced during the same period. These are the *Sunan* of Abū Da'ūd, the *Jāmi'* of Abū 'Isā Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī, the *Sunan* of Abū 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Aḥmad al-Nasā'ī, and the *Sunan* of Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Māja.

9. He is one of the most constant companions of Prophet Muḥammad. As a result of this intimacy he has related more traditions in regard to the sayings and doings of the Prophet than any other individual. He died when he was seventy-eight years of age, in 59 A.H.

10. Pilgrimage (Ḥajj. lit. *setting out*). In the technical sense it means: to set out for visiting the Baytullāh (House of Allāh) in Makka. The pilgrimage to Makka is performed in the month of *DHul-hijja*, the twelfth month of the Muslim year. The *hajj* is the fifth pillar of the religion of Islām. It is an incumbent religious duty founded upon express injunctions of the Qurān. This duty is incumbent on every Muslim, once in his life time, if he be an adult, free, sane, healthy and has sufficient money for the expenses of the journey and for the support of his family during his absence.

It is also related on the authority of Abū Hurayra that the Prophet said: "Allāh urges on him who goes forth in His cause that he should not set out unless with firm faith in Me and belief in My prophet. It may be that He may cause him to return with what He has given him of wages or booty, or that He may cause him to enter paradise."

Abū Hurayra says that he heard the Prophet declare: "I swear by Him in Whose hands is my being, that as there is not one among the Faithful willing to remain behind me in the city, holding his life dear,—and I do not find any way to constrain him to that course of action—I have to lag behind the body of troops fighting in the way of Allāh. I swear by Him in whose hands is my life, that I desire to die in the way of Allāh, then to be brought back to life, then to be slain, then to be brought back to life, and then to be slain."

Abū Hurayra further says that the Prophet has declared:

"He who goes forth to fight in the way of Allāh is like one who observes continuously fasting, stands to prayer and is obedient to the commands of Allāh, till he returns from his service in the way of Allāh."

"No one who fights in the way of Allāh is wounded, but that Allāh knows better about him who is wounded in His cause, that he shall appear on the Day of Judgment and the blood that flows from his wound shall be of a red colour like blood, but its odour will be as that of musk."

Anas relates that the Prophet has declared: "Service in the way of Allāh in the morning and evening is better than this world and all that is contained in it."

"There is no one among those who entered the paradise, who would desire to come back to the world. What thing is there on earth that the martyr could desire to return to the world? His hope in returning to the world may be for this: that his life might be sacrificed ten times. This is because he appreciates the glory of it."

Jābir relates: "A man said to the Prophet at the time of the battle of Uḥud:¹¹ 'Suppose I am killed at the battle, where would I be?' He answered: 'In the paradise.' On hearing this the warrior threw away the date fruits he had in his hands, rushed to the battle field and fought till he was slain."

Sahl ibn Sa'd relates that the Prophet has declared: "Engagement for one day in the way of Allāh is better than the world and all that it contains."

Abū Mūsā relates: "A man came to the Prophet and asked him: 'Which of the following three is in the way of Allāh, doing his duty: the man who wages war to obtain plunder, the man who fights for the sake of glory, or the man who goes forth to find his rank among the warriors'? The Prophet answered, 'He who fights for the glorification of the Word of Allāh, is in the way of Allāh'."

Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī relates: "The Prophet said: 'Of all mankind the *mu'min* is the best who fights in the way of Allāh and sacrifices readily his life and wealth.'"

Bukhārī records on the authority of Abū Hurayra: "The Prophet declared: 'In paradise there are a hundred dignities which Allāh has prepared for those who fight in His cause. The difference between one rank and the other is as wide as the space between the heaven and the earth. When Allāh shall enquire of you, which rank you desire ask for *Firdaws*, for, it is in the centre of the paradise, and most grand. Above it, is the throne of the All-Compassionate Lord, and from it the rivers of paradise spring'."

Abū 'Abs relates that the Prophet has declared: "The fire of hell shall not afflict the man whose feet are covered with dust in the service of Allāh."

11. It is a hill about three miles distant from Madīna. It is celebrated for a battle fought by the Prophet, when the Muslim army was routed by the Quraysh under Abū Sufyān, in 625 A.D.

Abū Qays says: "I heard Sa'd relate thus: He said: 'I was the first man among the Arabs who shot with the arrows in the way of Allāh. We were fighting and the Prophet was also one of our company. We had no food except the leaves of the trees. Every one of the party actually ate the leaves and we were excreting as the camel and goat; nevertheless we suffered no harm'."

Abū Hurayra relates that the Prophet has declared: "He who shall engage his horse in the way of Allāh with faith in Him and belief in His promise, verily the food and drink of the horse, its ordure and its urine shall be placed on the scales for his advantage on the Day of Judgment."

Muslim records on the authority of Abū Hurayra, that the Prophet has declared:

"He who shall die without ever having fought in the way of Allāh and whose mind had no presentiment of it, surely he dies with the charge of hypocrisy against him."

"The unbeliever and the slayer shall never come together in hell."

"The most remarkable man is he who bridles his horse in the way of Allāh and rides fast on its back whenever he hears any uproar or noise flying as it were, desiring battle and having death for his goal, or one who is in regular work of breeding his flocks and herds on the top of the hill or in the bosom of valleys, and keeps to prayer, pays the poor rate and thus continues to worship his Lord till his death. Such men will be successful."

Jābir ibn Samura relates: "The Prophet declared: 'This religion will continue to exist and a band of Muslims shall fight in its cause till the Judgment Day.'"

Salmān, the Persian, relates that he heard the Prophet declare: "Preparations for war for a day and a night in the way of Allāh are better than fasting for a month and praying all night."

If the person dies in the course of his preparation, the work for which he applied himself becomes executed. He will be granted his sustenance, and is safe from the mischief-maker."

'Uqba ibn 'Amr relates:—"I heard the Prophet express thus from the pulpit: 'Prepare for them whatever you can. Look: *The strength lies in archery. The strength lies in archery. Surely the strength lies in archery.*'"

"I heard the Prophet declare: 'He who learnt the art of archery and then abandoned it, cannot be counted as one of our number!'"

Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī relates: "A man came to the Prophet with a bridled she-camel and said: 'This is dedicated to service in the cause of Allāh.' The Prophet replied: 'Unto thee shall be given on the day of resurrection seven hundred camels, all of them bridled.'"

Masrūq relates: "We asked 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd about the following verse of the Qurān: 'Think not of those who are slain in the way of Allāh as dead, nay, they are finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord. They rejoice in the bounty provided by Allāh.' He replied: 'Indeed we did ask of the Prophet about that verse, and he answered: 'Their souls are in the bellies of green birds. They have lamps suspended from the *'arsh*. They go about in paradise, wherever they please. Then they flock together near the lamps, when their Lord appears and asks them: 'Are you in need of anything?' They reply: 'How can we be in need of anything? We go about the paradise wherever we choose.' The Lord puts them the same question three times. And when they perceive that they ought not to have left Him without asking a favour, they pray saying: 'O! Lord! we wish that our souls may be returned to their bodies so that we may once again be slain in your way.' When Allāh understood that there was no more desire to be fulfilled, He left them'."

'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Aṣ reports: "The Prophet said: 'Fight in the way of Allāh conceals everything except the Faith.'"

Anas relates : "The Prophet and his companions went forth till they met at Badr¹² the infidels who came to attack them. The Prophet said : 'Rise ye to paradise, the width of which is the expanse of both the heaven and the earth put together.' 'Umayr ibn al-Ḥamām then cried out, 'Bravo! Bravo!' The Prophet questioned him, 'What makes you shout like that? He replied: 'Nothing, By Allāh O! Prophet of Allāh, it is nothing but the hope of my being one of the inhabitants of paradise.' The Prophet then said: 'Verily, behold, thou art already one among them.' Then 'Umayr ibn al Ḥamām took out from his quiver the date fruits which he was eating and observed : 'By Allāh! if I have life till I eat these dates, that period would seem to be one of long life.' Then he threw them all out, and fought the enemy till he was slain."

Tirmidhī and Abū Dā'ūd relate on the authority of Fuḏālat ibn 'Ubayd : "The Prophet of Allāh said : 'Every man who dies sets a seal to his work except the one who dies fighting in the way of Allāh. His works continue to grow till the Judgment Day, and he is safe from confusion in the grave.'"

Abū Dā'ūd relates on the authority of Abū Umāma : "The Prophet of Allāh said : 'He who did not fight, or equip a *ghāzī* or did not make provision for the *ghāzī's* family in his absence, will have his Day of clamour even before the Day of Judgment.'"

12. The battle of Badr was fought between the Muslims and the Quraysh in January 624 A.D. A force consisting of a thousand well-equipped men under the noted Abū Jahl, 'the Father of Ignorance' marched out from Makka to relieve a rich caravan. The Muslims received timely notice of the movement, and a body of three hundred disciples proceeded at once to forestall the heathens by occupying the valley of Badr, upon which the Quraysh, under Abū Jahl, were moving. A battle ensued. The Quraysh fought bravely. At one time the fortunes of the field wavered, but Muḥammad's appeal to his people decided the fate of the battle. The Quraysh were driven back with great loss; many of their chiefs were slain; and Abū Jahl also fell a victim. But the importance of the Prophet's success cannot be measured by the material damage which he inflicted. Considering the momentous issues involved, Badr, like Marathon, or Plassey is one of the greatest and most memorable battles in all history. The victory of Badr turned all eyes upon Muḥammad. He became a power in Arabia.

'Imrān ibn Ḥuṣayn relates: "The Prophet said: 'There shall always be a party of my followers who will fight for truth and resist those who rise against them, until the time when they shall, last of all, destroy the Antichrist.'¹³"

Tirmidhī relates on the authority Ibn 'Abbās: "The Prophet said: 'The fire in hell cannot touch two kinds of eyes; the eyes that weep in dread of Allāh's displeasure and the eyes that are busy watching for an opportunity in the way of Allāh.'"

Abū Hurayra relates: "One of the Companions¹⁴ of the Prophet passed by a path in a mountain where he came across a small sweet water spring. He was fascinated by it, and said, 'I wish to abandon my people and take up my dwelling here.' When this was reported to the Prophet, he said: 'You shall not do this, for the dignity of everyone of you who goes out to fight in the way of Allāh, is more meritorious than of one who says prayer in his house for seventy years. Don't you think that God would forgive you and admit you in paradise? Fight in the way of Allāh. He who fights during the space of time when milk collects in the udder between the two milkings of a she-camel, paradise is necessarily reserved for him'."

Tirmidhī and Nasā'ī relate on the authority of Abū Hurayra: "The Prophet said: 'The martyr does not experience the pangs of death except as the pain caused by a wound.'"

13. He is called in the Traditions as *al-Masīhu'l-Dajjāl*. It is said that he would appear before the day of Resurrection.

14. *Aṣḥāb*, plural of *Ṣaḥīb*, the Companions or Associates of Muḥammad. The term, used for a single Companion, is *ṣaḥāba*. There is considerable controversy as to who is to be regarded a *Companion*, and what elements make up this definition. Strictly speaking the term 'Companionship', in relation to the Prophet, can be attributed only to those personalities from among the earliest Muslims who were on intimate terms with him and shared his daily life, and, in varying degrees, also to his thoughts; that is to those who could be called *friends* in the deepest meaning of the word. But Muslim historians and theologians, have, from the third century of the *Hijra* onward, begun to enlarge this term in a manner to include in it every person, who while being a Muslim, saw the Prophet even without nearer association.

Khuraym ibn Fātik relates: "The Prophet said: 'He who spends in the way of Allāh, it shall be written down for him seven hundred fold'."

Ibn Māja relates on the authority of 'Alī, Abū Dardā', Abū Hurayra, Abū Umāma, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr, Jābir ibn 'Abdullāh, and 'Imrān ibn Ḥuşayn: "The Prophet said: 'He who contributes to expenses in the way of Allāh, and remains himself at home, for every *dirham* he has expended, he shall receive seven hundred fold. He who goes forth to war in the way of Allāh, and at the same time spends money in that cause, will get for every *dirham* seven lakhs of *dirham*'." Then the Prophet recited the following verse from the Qurān: ".....Allāh gives manifold increase to whom He pleases: And Allāh cares for all and He knows all things."¹⁵

Abū Dā'ūd relates on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās: "The Prophet said to his companions: 'When your brethren were slain at the battle of Uḥud, Allāh put their souls into the bellies of green birds. They roam about the rivers in paradise; they eat of its fruits, and retire near the lamps of gold, suspended in the shadow of His *'arsh*. When they found out the sweetness of their food and drink and the pleasantness of their resting place, they said: 'Who shall carry the intelligence to our brethren that we are alive in paradise so that they may not shun paradise, and be frightened away from war. Allāh, glory be to Him, and exalted be He, replied: 'I will convey this news for your sake.' Thus Allāh revealed the verse, "Think not of those who are slain in Allāh's way as dead; nay, they live....'."

Ḥākim relates on the authority of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ari: "The Prophet said: 'The paradise is underneath the shadows of the swords'."

Ibn Māja relates on the authority of Anas: "The Prophet said: 'He who goes forth to war in the way of Allāh, the dust

15. Qurān, Sūra II, verse 261.

which collected on him shall be changed into musk on the Day of Judgment.' "

Ṭabrānī has recorded in his book *al-Kabīr* on the authority of Ibn 'Umar : "The Prophet said : 'He who breaks his head in the way of Allāh, whatever may be the sin committed by him before that, shall be pardoned.' "

Wā'ila relates : "The Prophet said : 'He who missed the opportunity to accompany me to war will fight on sea'."

Dārimī relates in *Musnad*¹⁶ on the authority of Abū Hurayra:

"The Prophet said : 'To engage for a while in the way of Allāh, is better than to make fifteen pilgrimages.' "

It is meant thereby that the reward for engaging in the holy war for a while, is far greater than the reward for fifteen pilgrimages. The reason for this pre-eminence is that the holy warrior risks his life and wealth for the sake of Allāh, and bestows benefit on others as well, which cannot be said to be the case with the pilgrim.

16. This is a book of traditions compiled by 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abdu'l-Raḥ-mān al-Dārimī of Samarqand, who died in 869 A.D. This does not contain more than a third of the matter of six *Ṣaḥīḥ*, embrace, and is drawn up for practical use, in which the traditions are arranged in the order of the most immediate witnesses. It has been lithographed at Cawnpore, N. India.

SECOND CHAPTER

THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF ISLĀM IN MALIBAR

It happened thus : A party of Jews and Christians, with their family in a big ship, entered one of the sea ports of Malibār, named Kodungallūr¹ where its king resided. They secured from the king grants of lands, gardens, and houses and settled there.

Some years later, there arrived at Kodungallūr, a party of Muslim *faqirs* with a *shaykh*, intent on a pilgrimage to the Foot-print² of our Father Ādam in Suān. When the king heard about

1. Kodungallūr is the same as modern Cranganore. The Jews are said to have first settled there. The Jews came to the East after the destruction of their temple at Jerusalem in A.D. 68. It is said that a Jew named Joseph Rabban received the principality of Añjuvanṇam from Bhāskara Ravi Varman the ruler of Cranganore. The date of this ruler is not definitely known; perhaps he flourished in the first half of the eighth century A.D.

2. The Adam's Peak in Ceylon is one of the loftiest and the best known in the world. It is 7260 feet in height, rising in solitary grandeur on the western front of the great central plateau and could be seen by navigators miles away on the sea.

It is a great pilgrim centre to peoples of all nationalities. On its summit is a lofty black rock with a hollow depression about four feet long resembling a big human foot-print. The Singhalese, Siamese, Burmese and Tibetans claim that it is the foot-print of the Buddha and call it his Śrī pāda. The Hindus venerate it as the mark of Śiva's foot. The Muslims consider that it is the foot-print of Adam, who, according to them, having been sent out of Paradise, stood on one foot on the peak for centuries doing penance. The Christians however claim it to be that of St. Thomas. The result is a never ending concourse of pilgrims to it from different countries.

There are two ways which lead to the peak. One is a straight narrow track along the precipices, the last portion of which is so steep that chains have been fixed at some places for the safety of pilgrims. The other is a circuitous road, considered less sacred.

Over the sacred foot print has been constructed a small chapel by the Buddhists to whom all offerings go, whether made by members of their own faith, or Hindus or Muslims.

their arrival he sent for them, entertained them, and made kind enquiries of them. Their *shaykh* informed him of our Prophet Muḥammad, the tenets of the religion of Islām, and the miracle of the splitting of the moon.³ Allāh, glory be to Him, and exalted be He, had caused to enter in his mind the truth of the mission of the Prophet, and the king believed in him. The affection for the Prophet took possession of his heart. So the king of Kodungallūr requested the *shaykh*, that he and his companions should return to him after their pilgrimage to the Footprint of Ādam, for the reason that he might go with them. At the same time he commanded the *shaykh* not to divulge his (king's) secret intention, to the inhabitants of Malibār.

The *shaykh* and his companions pursued their journey to Sīlān. Thence they returned, after a time, to Kodungallūr. Then the king asked the *shaykh* to get ready a vessel for his voyage, without the knowledge of any one.

There were lying in that port many vessels belonging to foreign traders. The *shaykh* said to one of its masters, "A party of *faqirs* and myself desire to travel in your ship." The owner of the ship agreed to the proposal. As the time of departure drew near, the king gave orders that none of the inmates of his house or his ministers should come into his presence for a period of seven days. The king set himself to appoint a governor for each of his provinces and wrote out detailed instructions, defining the limits of the territories of each so that one might not encroach upon the limits specified for the other. The story concerning about it is well known among the unbelievers of Malibār as well.⁴ He was the monarch of the whole of

3. The fifty-fourth *Sūra* of the Qurān begins with a reference to the splitting of the moon.

"The hour of judgment is nigh and the moon is cleft asunder. But if they see a sign, they turn away, and say, 'This is but transient magic.'"

The splitting of the moon is a matter of controversy. Many writers have tried to explain the significance of this occurrence.

4. There is a well-known tradition in Malabar contained in the *Keralotpatti*, a comparatively recent work of doubtful historical value, that

Malībār, the southern limit of which is Kumhurī and its northern boundary Kānjrakūt.

Then the king embarked with the *shaykh* and the *faqīrs* during night time, and reached Fandarīna⁴ where they landed and stayed for a day and a night. Thence they again set sail and proceeded to Darmfatan where they landed and stayed for three days; then they again set sail till they reached Shuhr⁵ where the king and all those who were with him alighted.

the last Cēramān Perumāḷ turned a Muslim in his old age, and went on a pilgrimage to Makka after partitioning his kingdom among his friends, dependents and relatives. The early Muslim travellers who came to South India such as Sulaymān, the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, and later travellers like Ibn Battūṭa, and others do not make reference to this fact. It is said that there is a grave of a Malabar ruler at Zafar on the Arabian coast. If the report about a grave with an inscription can be relied upon, it may be the grave of one of the Zamorins who is said to have embraced Islām, perhaps as a result of a liaison which he seems to have had with a Moplah woman. This report gained currency only after the visit of 'Abdu'l-Razzāq to Calicut in 1442 and before the coming of the Portuguese to India in 1498.

Peoples of other religions also claim Cēramān Perumāḷ as a convert to their respective faith. According to Faria Y Souza, the Portuguese historian, Cēramān Perumāḷ resolved to end his days at Meliapore (Mylapore in Madras) and went away to that place. Another account says that he went away to Bethlem. Some say that he turned either a Buddhist or a Jain. It is known that one Bāna, an ancestor of Cēramān Perumāḷ became a convert to Buddhism. Perhaps this Bāna is confounded with Cēramān Perumāḷ. As for his conversion to Jainism there is no satisfactory evidence. But Hindu literary works of a canonical character like the *Periya Purānam*, *Tiruvīḷaitiyāḍal Purāṇam* and *Hālāsya Māhātmyam* state that he was a devout Śaiva throughout his life. It appears he continued to be a Hindu till the end of his life and died in the celebrated temple at Tiruvañcikkulam.

5. From the way it is mentioned in the book it appears to be the name of a particular place rather than the Arabian Court as Rowlandson would have it. The *Keralolpatti* says that Cēramān Perumāḷ landed at the port of Sehar Mukhal on the Arabian coast. (Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, p. 433). It is possible that both refer to the same place,

Long time after, a party of men accompanied the king on his return journey to Malibār for the purpose of erecting mosques and propagating the faith of Islām in that country. The king fell ill on the way and his condition was getting worse. So he enjoined on those who were his companions in travel—namely Sharaf, son of Mālīk, his uterine brother Mālīk son of Dīnār, his brother's son Mālīk, son of Ḥabīb son of Mālīk and others,—not to cancel their voyage to Malibār after his death. They replied: "We do not know your place, nor the extent of your villayet. We decided on travel because of our friendship to you." On hearing this the king became thoughtful for a time, and gave them a letter in the script of Malibār, wherein he mentioned his rank, described his relatives, and specified the names of the rulers. He advised his companions to go down to Kodungallūr or to Darmfatan or to Fandarīna, or to Kūlam. He further asked them not to inform any one in Malibār of the seriousness of his illness, or his death if he happened to die.

Then the king died. May the unbounded mercy of Allāh be on him!

Many years after this Sharaf ibn Mālīk, Mālīk ibn Dīnār, Mālīk ibn Ḥabīb, and his wife Qamariyya, and others with their children and dependents set sail for Malibār in a ship and arrived off Kodungallūr. They landed and presented the letter of the deceased king to the ruler at Kodungallūr but they concealed the fact of his death as they had been enjoined. When the ruler went through it and learnt its contents, he granted them plots of lands and gardens, as per orders in the letter. The new comers settled there and erected a mosque. While Mālīk ibn Dīnār settled in Kodungallūr, his nephew Mālīk ibn Ḥabīb stood up in his place to erect mosques throughout Malibār.

Mālīk ibn Ḥabīb proceeded to Kūlam with his wife, and some of his children and his property and erected a mosque there. Then leaving his wife at Kūlam he started to Haylī-mārāwī and built a mosque there. Then he proceeded to Fākkanūr, to Manjālūr and to Kānjarakūt. In all those places he built mosques one after another. Then he returned to Haylī-mārāwī and stayed there for three months. Thence he went to Jurfatan, Darmfatan,

Fandarīna, and Shāliyāt. In all these places he built mosques one after another. He stayed in Shāliyāt for a period of five months. Then he returned to Kodungallūr where his uncle Mālik ibn Dīnār was living. He then started from that place to all the mosques mentioned above, and after saying his prayer in every mosque he came back to Kodungallūr feeling thankful to Allāh, and praising Him for making the Faith dawn in a country filled with disbelief.

Then Mālik ibn Dīnār and Mālik ibn Ḥabīb went to Kūlam with their companions and slaves. They settled there, except Mālik ibn Dīnār and some of his companions who set sail to Shuhr. They reached that place and proceeded to visit the grave of the deceased king. Mālik ibn Dīnār then travelled on to Khurāsān where he died.

Mālik ibn Ḥabīb left some of his children at Kūlam, and returned with his wife to Kodungallūr where he and his wife died.

This is the tale of the first appearance of Islām in the land of Malībār. As for the exact date there is no certain information with us; most probably it must have been two hundred years after the *hijra* (822 A.D.) of the Prophet. But the opinion in general circulation among the Muslims of Malībār is that the conversion to Islām of the king mentioned above took place at the time of the Prophet upon the monarch's perceiving on a night the splitting of the moon. He set out on a journey to visit the Prophet and had the honour of meeting him. He was returning to Malībār with a group of men mentioned before. When he reached Shuhr he died there. There is but little truth in this. What is commonly known amongst the people to-day is that he was buried at Zifār instead of at Shuhr. His grave is famous there, being regarded as the means of obtaining a blessing. The people of that locality call him *Sāmuri*.

The news of the disappearance of the said king is well known among all the people of Malībār, both among the Muslims and the unbelievers. At present the unbelievers say that he has been carried up to heaven and they expect his descent. Therefore they get ready wooden sandals and water at a place in Kodun-

gallūr and adorn that place with lamps and decorations on a night well-known among them.

Again it is a well-known fact among them that as the time of his departure drew near he divided his kingdom among his companions, excepting the Sāmūrī, the chief ruler of the port of Kālīkūt, who was absent at the time of the partition. When he presented himself before the king, he gave him a sword⁶ saying: "Strike with this and act as a sovereign." He acted according to his advice, and obtained possession of Kālīkūt.

After some time the Muslims settled at Kālīkūt. Then merchants and craftsmen flocked there from various quarters. Trade increased and the city grew, till it became a big metropolis where various kinds of people, the Muslims and the unbelievers, collected. The power of the Sāmūrī became manifest amidst the chieftains of Malībār who were all unbelievers; of them some were powerful and some weak. But the strong one did not conquer the territories of the weak by his strength. This was because of the advice of their great king who embraced Islām, of his supplications to God to that effect, and the blessings of the Prophet of Islām and his religion.

There are some chieftains whose territory does not exceed one parasang in extent, while others exercise power over more extensive domains. Of these some have at their command one hundred soldiers or less, or two hundred, or three hundred to one thousand, to five thousand, ten thousand to thirty thousand, and to a hundred thousand and more. Some of the towns, two or

6. According to the local tradition, when Cēramān Perumāḷ retired in his old age he assigned a small area to his nephew and gave him a sword instructing him to 'kill and annex.' This nephew later on became famous as the Zamorin of Calicut. He kept the sword given by his uncle with great veneration. This sword was burnt to cinders when the Dutch sacked the temporary residence of the Zamorin at Tiruvañcikkulam in A.D. 1671. The sword which the Zamorin has now in his possession with an inscription on it in Malayalam characters, was made subsequently. See Logan, *Manual of Malabar*, for a picture of the same.

three and sometimes more, join in league with some who are more powerful and possess larger armies than others, and wars are carried on between various parties. Although hostilities exist, yet their association never undergoes a change.

Of those who possess the largest number of troops is Tirwadi the ruler of Kūlam and Kumhuri. Between these two cities on their eastern side, there is a vast territory belonging to him. Next to him is Kōlattiri. He is the ruler of Hayli-mārāwī, Jurfatan, Kannanūr, Idakād, Darmfatan, and other cities. But the most powerful and famous among them is the Sāmuri. He is the highest in rank. This is due to the blessed influence of Islām, and his love for the Muslims and respect for them, especially for those who come from far off lands. But the unbelievers think that it is due to the gift of the sword by the king mentioned above. To this day that sword is in possession of the Sāmuri, who it is believed, preserves it with veneration and respect. He carries it with him when he goes forth to battle or to great assembly.

Whenever the Sāmuri fights against any one of the weak chieftains for some reason or other, and subdues him, he would give him some property or a portion of the territory.⁷ If he does not give, no power can prevail upon him to do so, because of his authority, even though a long time may lapse. This is because the people of Malibār pay regard to old customs and observances from which they never depart except on rare occasions.

In regard to the zeal of the Sāmuri during the time of war he has nothing in view except destruction of lives and desolation of towns.

7. This is quite in accordance with the practice of the kings of ancient India. The conqueror was content if the vanquished king acknowledged his suzerainty and agreed to pay an annual tribute. The ancient kings of India were not particular about the confiscation of the conquered country and the dethronement of the defeated chief.

THIRD CHAPTER

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF CERTAIN STRANGE CUSTOMS PREVALENT AMONG THE UNBELIEVERS OF MALĪBĀR

It must be known that among the unbelievers of Malībār there are strange customs which are not found in any other quarter of the world. Some of them are as follows :

Sacrifice for kings¹

Whenever a ruler is slain in battle, his troops rush blindly against his adversary, his army, and his town, till they have slain them all, or laid desolate the entire land of his enemy. On account of this they dread very much to kill a ruler. This is one of their ancient customs, although its observance is not so much in vogue in these days.

Enmity between rulers

The rulers of Malībār form into two parties. One party supports the Sāmūrī, the other the ruler of Kashī. This happened because of enmity between the two rulers. When this rivalry disappears, party spirit also will cease.

Nature of warfare

The people of Malībār are never treacherous in their wars. They fix a particular day when they would fight with their enemies. They do not go back on it and any deceit in this respect is considered as base.

1. For details given by Arab writers on the subject see my forthcoming book, *Arabs' Knowledge of Southern India*, pp. 106-7.

Custom observed on the death of a relative

On the death of their elders like father, mother, and elder brother having relationship with Brahmans, Nāyars, and people of that description, or on the death of one like mother, maternal uncle and elder brother having relationship with Nāyars and their relatives, they avoid the company of women for one whole year and abstain from eating animal food, chewing betel, shaving of hair, and paring nails. They never deviate from such practices, for they believe that such observances would entitle them to the gratitude of the departed souls.

Inheritance

The inheritance both to property and kingdom amongst the Nāyars and those who are allied to them, belongs first to their brothers from the mother or to the children of their sisters, or to their maternal aunts or to the relatives who are descended from the mother, and not to the immediate off-spring. This custom² of excluding the immediate off-spring to inheritance has been adopted by most of the Muslims in Kannanūr and its neighbourhood. They copied this custom from the people of Hind even though there are among these Muslims some who study the Qurān, learn it by heart, and recite it beautifully, besides their acquiring knowledge of other branches of studies pertaining to Islām, and busying themselves in religious worship.

Among the Brahmans, goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, *shānārs*,³ fishermen and others, their children inherit. They have the marriage contract.

2. This is a reference to the system of *Marumakkattāyam* obtaining in Malabar.

3. They are evidently the toddy drawers and toddy tappers. The Malabar coast being rich in 'cocoanut groves, they are a thriving community.

Marriage

But among the Nāyars, there is no marriage contract⁴ except the tying of a string round the neck of a woman for the first time. After a time either she keeps the tied string or throws it off; it is all the same.

4. Dr. C. Achyuta Menon, Head of the Malayalam Department, University of Madras, has kindly furnished the following note on *Nāyar Marriage*:

The marriage customs of Malabar are very often misunderstood, particularly the system that once obtained among the Nāyars.

There seems to be a general impression that the relationship between men and women among the Nāyars was rather loose and the practice of polyandry was usually associated with them. We get varying descriptions of them from the accounts of travellers who often generalise from a few stray cases that come to their notice without any reference to the social setting or background. Sometimes the travellers come into contact with the lower strata of the society, and form impressions from their habits.

The question was thoroughly examined by the *Malabar Marriage Commission*, in 1894, and in the dissenting Minute written in that connection, one of its members the late O. Candu Menon, the leading jurist and novelist of the time, has established on unimpeachable evidence that polyandry was never a general practice among the Nāyars, although it was possible to point out isolated instances among them, probably copied from the artisan classes among whom it was the general custom. A Nāyar marriage has all the validity of a sacred rite as understood and practised among other communities in Malabar and outside. It is always performed in public before respectable persons of the locality. The birth and death ceremonies of the Nāyar community emphatically support this view. In the former the father has a definite function to perform, and in the latter the son of the deceased takes his place along with his nephews. Probably the system of inheritance namely, *Marumakkattayam*, by which the nephews inherit the properties of the uncles whose sons have no legal right to their father's properties, is responsible for the confused thinking on the subject. Inheritance is a matter of economic arrangement and the comparative merits of the Matriarchal and Patriarchal systems of inheritance are a matter of opinion.

There is one peculiarity about the Nāyar marriage, that is, both the parties to the marriage have a right to divorce if they wished to do so. This does not, however, mean that the conjugal bond between them is not of a fixed character.

The institution of marriage has an interesting history in Malabar and the changes that threw the original *Tāli-kettu* (Tāli-tying) ceremony to

Among the Brahmans if there are many brothers, none but the eldest takes a wife in marriage, unless it is evident that he will not have any issue. The rest of the brothers shall not marry, so that the heirs may not multiply and differences happen. However the younger brothers take women of Nāyar caste without any marriage. If it happens that any such woman gives birth to children, they cannot succeed their father as heirs. But if it becomes evident, that the eldest brother will not have any issue, then the next elder brother will marry.

Polyandry

Among the Nāyars and their caste, two or four or more men have commerce with one woman, each in turn passing the night just as a Muslim husband divides his night among his wives. Enmity and ill-will do not come into their minds on that account.

Carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and others of that description follow this custom and more than one man unite with one woman. But such husbands in these cases are brothers or in some way related to one another so that differences may not happen in inheritance and disputes may be less on that account.

Dress

They expose their bodies. They wear a cloth around the waist and keep the rest of the body naked. In this custom men and women, kings and nobles all are alike. Their women are not veiled from the sight of any one while the Brahman women are kept veiled.⁵ The Nāyars adorn their women with ornaments and

the background and brought into being a simple ceremony called *Pudavamuri* (cloth-cutting) dropping all ritualistic details of the former deserves closer study in its proper perspective. See also the remarks given by F. Fawcett, in *Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 228-229.

5. Perhaps the author refers to the Nambudiri women who do not appear before men except close relatives, like brothers and junior brothers-in-law. But the Nambudiri women go out to temples and attend social functions in their own community accompanied by Nāyar women. On such

nice clothes, and bring them out into great assemblies for men to behold and admire.

Age of succession

None but the eldest in age among them, even though it be by a minute, will succeed to the sovereignty, whether he be besotted in intellect, blind or weak or he be from the sons of maternal aunts. It has never been heard that any one of the junior brothers or sons of maternal aunts have slain one who was senior in age so that he may soon succeed to the throne.

In the event of the extinction of rightful heirs or of any scarcity of them, they take a stranger even though he is advanced in age and make him the successor in the place of a son or brother or sister's son. After this they do not make any distinction between him and the lawful heir entitled to inherit either property or kingdom. This is the custom prevailing among all the unbelievers of Malibār, both among the rulers and the common people, among the high and the low. The line of their heirs is therefore never broken.

Untouchability

They subject themselves to a lot of unavoidable difficulties on account of their division into various castes, consisting of the highest, the lowest and other degrees between these two. If one of high caste touches a man of low caste or approaches him nearer than the distance prescribed for intercourse with men of low caste, it is necessary for the one of high caste to bathe, and it is unlawful for him to eat before the bath. If he eats before the bath he will be degraded from his rank, and will not be readmitted into it. There is no redemption for him unless he runs to a place where

occasions the Nambudiri women wrap themselves up except their faces with a long sheet of white cloth (*kacca*) about eighteen cubits long. They hold an umbrella (*marakkuṭa*) to hide their face with it, and they never part with it till they return home. The word *marakkuṭa* consists of two parts, *marā*—to hide, *kuṭa*—an umbrella; the compound meaning, an umbrella to hide oneself.

he will not be recognised. Else the ruler of the town will seize him and sell him to one of inferior rank, whether the purchaser be a boy or a woman. Or else the person comes to us and embraces Islām, or becomes a yōgi or turns a Christian.

Dining

It is not lawful for a person of high caste to eat the food prepared by one of lower caste. If he should eat, the consequences related above will happen to him.

Castes

Those who wear the thread: Brahmans and others

Those who have the obligation of wearing thread on their shoulders are the highest of all the unbelievers of Malibār. These wearers of threads are, again, of various degrees, high, low, and intermediate grades,⁶ while the Brahmans rank highest of all. Brahmans again are of various ranks.⁷

Nāyars

After these come Nāyars who are the soldiers of Malibār.

6. The classification of the wearers of thread into three grades appears to be after the communities of Brahmans, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas who are all entitled to wear the sacred thread. Of them the Brahmans rank first, then come the Kṣatriyas, and then the Vaiśyas.

7. The mention of various ranks among the Brahmans is probably based on their distinctive traits. The Brahmans of Malabar may be classified under four broad divisions, namely Nambudiris, Tulu Brahmans, Tamil Brahmans or Bhaṭṭars and Sarasvat Brahmans or Konkanis. The first constitute a dignified and cultured class. They are kept above want and they minister to the spiritual and temporal wants of the people. The Tulu Brahmans who were immigrants from the Tulu country or South Canara were and still continue to be largely temple priests. The Tamil Brahmans were immigrants to Malabar from the Cōla and Pāṇḍya countries in search of fortune. The Konkanī Brahmans are largely traders in Malabar and have their own temples for worship.

They are larger in number and possess greater power. They are divided into different classes, high, low and intermediate ranks.⁸

Shānārs

Then there are *Shānārs* whose occupation is to climb cocoa-nut trees to gather nuts and collect the juice which becomes toddy or sugar when boiled.

Other Castes

After this come the carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, fishermen and other classes.

Inferior Castes

There are various other groups of lower classes. Their occu-

8. The various ranks among the Nāyars are:

Aristocracy: The class from which ruling families were drawn. Most of the royal families in Malabar today are the representatives of this class.

Feudatory chieftains: This class comes next to the aristocracy. They assume different titles as *Kaimal*, *Nāyar*, *Paṇikkār*, *Mēnōn*, *Nambiyār*, *Kurup*, etc.

Kiriattil Nāyar or *Ilakkār*: They are the intermediary class. They have no social status now. They are employed generally as cooks by the high class Nāyars on occasions of *Śrāddha* ceremonies.

Lower classes: There are a large number of lower classes of Nāyars called *Sūdra Nāyar*, *Vaṭṭekkāṭṭ Nāyar*, *Attikkurussī*, *Anturān*, following certain professions, like oil-monger, etc. They are also employed by people of higher castes during the period when pollution is observed. Some of these classes are considered untouchables in certain parts of Malabar.

Ambalavāsis or Temple servants: It is supposed by some people that these are outcastes from the fold of high class Nāyars. They are divided into a number of sects and sub-sects with varying status which they acquired by their contact with Nambudiris.

At the present day the term Nāyar is applied in a general sense to a number of classes with different status, some of which are indicated above.

For details, See F. Fawcett, *Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 185-224.

pation is to till the land, cultivate it and do such other work pertaining to it. They are also divided into different sects.⁹

*Punishment for adultery*¹⁰

Whenever a man of the inferior caste treads during certain nights in a year in the chamber of a woman who is above his rank, she will be degraded from her rank even though the male had not had commerce with her or she had become pregnant. The ruler will seize her and sell her. Or she comes to us and embraces Islām, or she becomes a convert to Christianity, or she turns a *yōgi*. In the same manner when intercourse takes place between a man of high caste with a woman of low caste, the man will be degraded from his rank, and he will have no choice but to adopt one of the above mentioned alternatives.

Wearers of thread exempted from punishment for adultery

But if wearers of thread have intercourse with women of Nāyar caste, they are not degraded from their ranks, for they have made this a custom among them for the reason stated above, namely, that none but the eldest brother among the Brahmins should marry, and the juniors keep company with Nāyar women.

There are many more such troublesome customs they subject themselves to out of ignorance and foolishness. Allāh, the Glorious and the High, made these things the chief reason for their embracing the faith of Islām.

This is a digression from the main discourse.

We shall now return to the subject of our narrative :

When Sharaf ibn Mālik, Mālik ibn Dīnār, Ḥabīb ibn Mālik and others about whom mention has already been made,

9. They were probably the ancestors of the Eļuvās, Parayās and Pula-yās of the modern day.

10. For details given by Arab writers on the subject see my forthcoming book, *Arabs' Knowledge of Southern India*, p. 112.

came to Malibār, built mosques in the ports mentioned in the previous pages and propagated the faith of Islām, the inhabitants of these places gradually entered into its fold. Traders from different quarters began to flock to these places. Consequently there came into being new cities like Kālikūt, Balīnkūt, Tiruwarankād, Tānūr, Fannān, Barbūrānkād, Barūnūr, in the neighbourhood of Shāliyāt, then Kābkāt, Tirkūrī and other towns in the vicinity of Fandarīna; then Kannanūr, Idakād, Barrūnkād, Haylī and Janbā round about Darmfatan, and to the south of these Budfatan, and Nādhāwaram; then towns like Kashī, Bab, and Ballaburam to the south of Kodungallūr, besides many other sea-port towns. Population increased in all these places.

The Muslims and their trade prospered because of the regard shown to them by the rulers,—notwithstanding that these rulers and their troops were all unbelievers—their respect for the ancient customs of the Muslims, and the absence of enmity except on rare occasions. The Muslims of these towns who were the subjects (of the Hindu rulers), were in a minority not exceeding one tenth of the total population.

Kālikūt ranked as the greatest and the most famous of all the seaports of Malibār from the earliest times. But its power weakened and its importance declined after the arrival of the Portuguese to Malibār and the deprivation of the trade of its inhabitants.

The Muslims throughout Malibār have no *amīr* possessed of power to rule over them. But their rulers are unbelievers. These exercise judicial authority over them by organising their affairs, by compelling them to pay the debt or fine if any one is subjected to such payment. Notwithstanding these, the rulers have respect and regard for the Muslims, because the increase in the number of cities was due to them. Hence the rulers enable the Muslims in the observation of their Friday prayers and celebration of 'Id. They fix the allowance for *qāzīs* and *mu'adhdhins* and entrust them with the duty of carrying out the laws of *sharī'at*. No one is permitted to neglect the prayer on Fridays. In greater part of Malibār, whoever neglects it, is punished or made to pay a fine.

If a Muslim commits a crime punishable with death, they put him to death after obtaining the permission of the elders of the Muslims. Then the Muslims take charge of the dead body, wash it, clothe it for burial, say the *janāza* prayer, and inter it in the Muslim cemetery. If an unbeliever commits a capital offence, they kill him, gibbet him, and leave the body to be devoured by dogs or jackals.

The rulers take from the Muslims only a tenth part of the income of their trade, and realise also the penalties, whenever they do anything calling for a penalty. They do not levy tax on those who possess lands or fruit gardens although they are of vast extent.

If a Muslim commits a crime, even though it be murder, the unbelievers would not enter his house without permission. But they call upon his co-religionists to expel him from society or to starve him, or the like.

The unbelievers never punish such of their countrymen who embrace Islām, but treat them with the same respect shown to the rest of the Muslims, though the convert belongs to the lowest of the grades of their society. As a result of such kindly treatment the Muslim merchants of olden days used to come in large numbers.

FOURTH CHAPTER

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE IN MALIBAR, AND A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THEIR SHAMEFUL DEEDS

SECTION 1

The arrival of the Portuguese in Malibār for the first time ; hostilities between them and the Sāmūrī ; the erection of fortresses by them at Kashī, Kannanūr and Kūlam and their capture and occupation of the port of Kūwa.

1498 A.D.

It was in the year 904 A.H. that the Portuguese made their first appearance in Malibār. Their three ships anchored off Fandarīna, towards the close of the *mawsim-al-Hind*.¹ Then they disembarked, proceeded by land to the port of Kālīkūt, and stayed in that town for some months spending their time in collecting information about the condition of Malibār. They did not engage themselves in trade on this occasion, but returned to Purtukāl, their native land. The reason for their coming to Malibār, according to their own account,

1. Mas'ūdī, who quotes from *al-Mudkhal-al-Kabir ilā 'ilm al-Nujūm* (Great Introduction to Astronomy) by Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī, has given an account of the Indian season. He says that the stormy and quiet seasons in the eastern seas begin when the sun is in the signs of the zodiac and that it is impossible to sail from 'Umān on the sea of Hind in the Tirmah (June) except with first-rate vessels and light cargoes. These vessels are called al-Tirmahīyya. In Hind is at that time winter and the rainy season; for the two Syriac months called Kanun and the month Shobat (December, January and February) are their summer months. Our winter is their summer, while the month Tamus (July) and Ab (August) which are summer months with us, are their winter. This change of season is the case in all the towns of Hind, Sind and the neighbouring countries, through the whole extent of these seas.

was to seek intelligence about the pepper-land and to establish trade in that commodity, for at that period the Portuguese used to purchase pepper from those who bought it from original exporters from Malibār.

1500 A.D.

Two years after this (906 A.H.), the Portuguese returned to Malibār with six vessels. They landed at Kālikūt as merchants, and engaged themselves in trade.

They said to the *‘āmul*s of the Sāmūrī: "It is fit that the Muslims be prevented from their trade and their voyages to Arabia. The advantages which would accrue to you from their trade would be far greater if you carry on trade with us." Then the Portuguese began to encroach upon the rights of the Muslims in all transactions. So the Samūrī gave orders that the Portuguese should be killed. Accordingly sixty or seventy men were put to death. The rest fled from the town, got into their ships, fired continuously at the people on the shore, who also fired fast at them.

Then the Portuguese went to Kashi, made peace with the inhabitants of that town, and built a small fort.² This was the first fort built by the Portuguese in Hind. They settled there. They pulled down a mosque situated on the sea shore and built in its place a church, employing the inhabitants as labourers.

Then they made friendship with the people of Kannanūr where they built another fort employing the inhabitants as labourers. After this they loaded their ships with pepper and ginger and set

2. The Zamorin of Calicut had a family feud with the Raja of Cochin. The Zamorin invaded his country in 1503 A.D. and devastated Cochin. At that time some Portuguese ships came to the place commanded by Alfonso de Albuquerque and Francisco, his brother. When the Zamorin saw them he scuttled away. Out of gratitude for this deliverance, the Raja of Cochin permitted Alianso de Albuquerque to build a fort at the mouth of the river in Cochin. The foundation for the fort was laid in September 1503, (See K. F. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, pp. 209-10).

sail for Purtukāl, because this was their main object, for the realisation of which they travelled such a long distance.

After a year they returned with four vessels, landed at Kashī and Kannanūr where they filled their ships with pepper and ginger and set sail for their native land.

Two years after, they came back to Hind with twenty or twenty-one or twenty-two or eighteen vessels, and having laden their ships with pepper, ginger and such other merchandise, they returned to their own country.

Thus their affairs assumed great importance. Then the Sāmūrī attacked Kashī,³ and according to his wont destroyed whatever he came across. He slew two or three of the chieftains, and returned to Kālikūt. The Sāmūrī killed them because of their association with the Portuguese. The nephews of the chieftains who were slain by the Sāmūrī, unlike other relatives, usurped the throne of Kashī and the neighbouring places with the aid of the Portuguese, contrary to the time-honoured custom which enjoined on them to elect to the throne only the senior-most man among the relatives. The Portuguese were treated with consideration and respect by the usurpers. They helped them much in their wars, and in all times of necessity assisted them with money, and assigned to them a tenth portion of the profit gained from trade. As a result of this the importance of the Portuguese increased.

A year after the arrival of about twenty ships mentioned above, another party reached Hind in a fleet of ten vessels. Of these, seven were new ships, while the remaining three belonged to the fleet of twenty ships which arrived the year before. As their passage was retarded on the way, they arrived along with the seven ships. These seven ships, loaded with merchandise, set out on their homeward voyage, and the three ships continued to remain at Kashī. The Sāmūrī, who was intent on seizing these three ships, collected about one hundred thousand Nāyars besides a large num-

3. This took place in 1503; perhaps this was the second invasion in the same year.

ber of Muslims. He could not enter Kashī because the Portuguese fought with arrows and cannon. But the Muslims from Fannān equipped themselves with three boats and fought against the Portuguese. In this engagement some Muslims became martyrs. On the following day the people of Fannān and Balīnkūt got ready four boats, and the people of Fandarīna and Kābkāt three boats, and these fought a severe battle. There was no casualty on the side of the Muslims on this occasion. The battle was indecisive, because of the setting in of the rainy season. Therefore the Sāmūrī and his followers returned safely to their towns. May Allāh be praised !

In this manner a large number of ships came every year from Purtukāl filled with men and treasure, and they were sent back from Malībār to their native land, loaded with pepper, ginger, and other goods. After the Portuguese settled in Kashī and Kannanūr and secured a firm footing there, the inhabitants of these towns with their dependents engaged themselves in sea-voyages taking with them passes from the Portuguese, with a view to ensure against risks. Each ship, however small it might be, was provided with a pass, for which the Portuguese fixed a certain fee. At the time of the voyage the master of the ship took the pass on payment of the fee. The Portuguese impressed upon the inhabitants that the system of pass, introduced by them, was to their advantage and thus induced them to submit to it. Whenever the Portuguese fell in with a ship which did not possess their pass, they seized it, its crew and its cargo. On account of this high-handedness, the Sāmūrī, his subjects, and dependents were constantly fighting against the Portuguese.

The Sāmūrī spent so much in this war that in the course of time, he and his subjects grew weak. So he dispatched letters to Muslim sultāns seeking their help. They did not come forward to help him. But the sultān of Jazrāt, Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh,⁴ the

4. Maḥmūd Shāh I was the Sultān of Gujarāt between 1458 and 1511 A.D. He is generally known as Maḥmūd Begada because of his trimmed moustache which looked like the upturned horns of a bullock.

father of the excellent Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh, and 'Adil Shāh⁵ the grandfather of the great 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, issued orders to get ready vessels and corvettes which were later on found to be unsuitable to be put to sea. The sultān of Miṣr, Qānṣū-al-Ghawrī,⁶ had sent Ḥusayn, one of his *amīrs*, with thirteen corvettes and some troops. He reached the port of Dēw in Jazrāt, and then sailed to Shiyūl in the company of Malik Iyās, the *nā'ib* at Dēw, and his corvette. They came across some ships of the Portuguese and in the fight that ensued Amīr Ḥusayn captured the larger corvettes that belonged to the Portuguese. After achieving the victory, he returned with his vessels to Dēw where he stayed during the rainy months. Nearly forty small corvettes, brought together from the cities of the Sāmūrī and elsewhere arrived at Dēw as reinforcement to Amīr Ḥusayn.

When the Portuguese heard of the Amīr's stay at Dēw, they made preparations for war, set sail in a fleet of twenty ships, and appeared suddenly before Dēw. On hearing the news of their arrival, Amīr Ḥusayn, without preparations, put to sea his corvettes and those of Malik Iyās, together with the small corvettes that came from Malibār. When the Portuguese met the combined forces they fixed their attention upon the corvettes of Amīr Ḥusayn, and captured some of them, while the remainder got separated. Thus by the decree of Allāh and His indisputable command the accursed Portuguese returned victorious to Kashī. But Amīr Ḥusayn and some of his companions got off safely with the corvettes of Malik Iyās and those of the people of Malibār. Then Amīr Ḥusayn returned to Miṣr. The Ghawrī, king of Miṣr, was indignant at the defeat and so he dispatched twenty-two big corvettes equipped fully with all requisites, under the command of Amīr Salmān of Rūm along with Amīr Ḥusayn. Both of them sailed with their

5. 'Adil Shāh (Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh) was the son of Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh the founder of the Sultanate of Bijāpūr. He was the Sultān between 1510 and 1534 A.D.

6. Qānṣū-al-Ghawrī was the last of the Mamlūk rulers of Egypt. He ruled from 1501 to 1516 A.D. As he was an unpopular ruler he was killed by Sultān Salīm Shāh of Rūm (Constantinople) in a battle in 1516 A.D. With his death the Mamlūk or Slave Dynasty of Egypt came to an end.

corvettes and reached the well protected port of Jidda whence they proceeded to the port of Kamrān. Amīr Ḥusayn engaged himself in fighting against the Yemenites and plundering their towns. Amīr Salmān, who proceeded to 'Adan, returned to Jidda. Differences arose between him and Amīr Ḥusayn. Amīr Salmān left Jidda plundering their cities. Amīr Ḥusayn was seized by the Sultān of the exalted Ḥijāz and thrown into the sea. After this event, information reached Jidda on the hostilities between the Ḡhawrī and Sultān Salīm Shāh of Rūm,⁷ the defeat and death of the Ḡhawrī, and the capture of his kingdom by Sultān Salīm Shāh. Allāh is the Master over His affairs.

1510 A.D.

On Thursday, the 22nd of Ramazān, 915 A.H., the Portuguese attacked Kālīkūt and burnt the cathedral mosque built by Nākhudā Mithqāl.⁸ Then they entered the palace of the Sāmuri designing to seize it, for at that time he was absent, being engaged in war in some distant place. But those of the Nāyars present at that time came upon them unexpectedly, fought against them, and drove them from the place. Nearly five hundred of the Portuguese were killed by the Nāyars while many were drowned. Those who escaped, boarded their ships, frustrated in their hopes by order of Allāh, exalted be He.

Sometime before or after this event the Portuguese invaded Fannān, and burnt about fifty ships that lay near the shores, and made nearly seventy Muslims suffer martyrdom.

In the same manner they fell upon 'Adan, and fought with its inhabitants. Allāh granted victory for the Muslims and abandoned the Portuguese. They were put to rout by order of Allāh and dis-

7. Sultān Salīm Shāh was the Sultān of Turkey who put an end to the Mamlūk dynasty by killing Qānsū-al-Ḡhawrī in 1516 A.D. and ruled over Egypt till 1519. After his death he was succeeded by Sulaymān the Magnificent (1520-1566). (See Sir William Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt* pp. 196-214).

8. Nākhudā literally means the master or commandant of a ship. He was perhaps a prosperous merchant who built the mosque referred to.

appointed in their hopes. This happened at the time of Amīr Marjān. After establishing themselves firmly in Kashī, and Kannanūr, the Portuguese made peace with the ruler at Kūlam and erected there a fort, because pepper was brought in large quantities to that town and Kashī than to other places.

Then they fought against the people of Kūwa,⁹ captured it by force and occupied it. This port was one of those that belonged to 'Adil Shāh, the grandfather of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh the Great. They made it the capital town of their possessions in Hind and strengthened the fortifications. But 'Adil Shāh fought against the Portuguese, took possession of Kūwa and expelled them from that city and made it the centre of Muslim influence. The Portuguese were seized with great indignation at this defeat, made great preparations and attacked the city. They recaptured it and established their authority over it. It is said that the *amīrs* and the principal men in Kūwa co-operated with the Portuguese and hence it was easy for them to recapture that city."^{9a} Then the Portuguese constructed a number of strong fortresses. Thus they grew strong. If Allāh wills anything, He brings it to pass. The strength of the Portuguese increased day by day.

9. Goa belonged to Vijayanagar. A few years before 1507 A.D. it was captured by Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh of Bijāpūr. The king of Vijayanagar appointed one Timoja as the commandant of the Vijayanagar fleet on the west coast in order to wage war and recapture Goa. After the death of Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh in 1510 A.D., Alfonso de Albuquerque, the then Viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in the East, was persuaded by Timoja to attack Goa, taking advantage of the young age of Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh of Bijāpūr who had just then succeeded his father. The Portuguese took possession of Goa in March 1510. Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh took it back two months later. But in November of the same year the Portuguese recaptured it and made it their capital, for, being centrally situated on the west coast, it enjoyed a commanding position for commercial purposes. (Rev. H. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I, p. 57; M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, p. 252).

9a. From the available facts of history we do not know if the Amīrs helped the Portuguese.

SECTION 2

Certain shameful deeds of the Portuguese

The Muslims of Malibār lived a happy and prosperous life on account of the benevolence of their rulers, their regard to the time-honoured customs, and their kindness. But the Muslims undervalued the blessings of Allāh, and transgressed and disobeyed. So Allāh set on them the people of Purtukāl, who were Christians. They oppressed the Muslims, corrupted them and committed all kinds of ugly and infamous deeds, too bad to be described.¹⁰ The Portuguese scoffed at the Muslims, and held them up to scorn. They ordered them about insolently, employed them to draw water, bespattered them and spat upon their face and body. They prevented the Muslims from their journeys, especially their pilgrimage to Makka. They plundered their properties, burnt their cities and mosques, seized their ships and trod down the Qurān and other books under their feet and burnt them away. They violated the penetralia in mosques, instigated the Muslims by bribery to accept Christianity and prostrate before the Cross. They adorned their own women with ornaments and fine clothes in order to allure the Muslim women. They put to death *hājīs* and other Muslims with all kinds of cruelties and reviled publicly the Apostle of Allāh. They held the Muslims captives binding them with heavy fetters and rushed them into the market to sell them as slaves, tormenting them, at that time, with all kinds of punishment in order to get more profits. The Portuguese kept the Muslims in a dark, dirty and stinking house. They beat the Muslims with shoes when they purified themselves with water after excretion. They tortured the Muslims with fire, sold some, and kept some as slaves and

10. The attitude of the Portuguese to the Muslims was one of inveterate hostility on account of rivalry in trade. Since the days of John III of Portugal (1521-57 A.D.) proselytism became one of the objects of the Portuguese policy in India. They also committed many excesses. In 1560 they established the inquisition at Goa. They did not scruple to destroy mosques for the construction of churches. (See *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidīn* translated into English by Lieut. M. J. Rowlandson, pp. 103-05 *fn.*.)

employed some of them for all kinds of hard labour without any compassion.

The Portuguese, after great preparations sailed to the ports of Jazrāt, Konkan, Malibār, and the coast of Arabia, lay in wait for the ships of the Muslims and seized them. Thereby they amassed abundant wealth and acquired a large number of Muslim prisoners.

How many a Muslim woman of noble birth they took as captives, and violated their honour to bring into world Christian children who would be enemies of the Faith of Allāh and agents to cause affliction to the Muslims! How many *sayyids*, learned men and nobles, they captured and tortured and put to death! How many Muslim men and women they converted to Christianity! How many such shameful and abominable deeds they committed! The tongues get weary of describing them, and hate to put them into words. May Allāh chastise them very severely!

The ardent desire of the Portuguese and their great ambition at all times were to make the Muslims renounce the faith of Islām and accept Christianity. May Allāh protect us from taking such a course! But the Portuguese had to maintain peaceful relations towards the Muslims, out of necessity, for they had to live among the Muslims who formed the main body of population in all the seaports of Malibār. As the Muslims were the most important community in all ports, the freshly-come Portuguese men during certain seasons in the year, who noticed in Kashī the Muslims and their deportment, said to their countrymen: "The Muslims have not yet changed their characteristic traits." So they blamed their elders for not attempting to make the Muslims change their religion.

"Their intention is to extinguish Allāh's light by blowing with their mouths. But Allāh will complete the revelation of His light even though the unbelievers may detest it."¹¹

11. Qurān, Sūra 61, verse 8.

It was for the same reason their elders said to the ruler of Kashī: "Expel the Muslims from Kashī. The benefits that accrue to you from them are small, but from us you would receive greater benefits." The ruler replied: "The Muslims are our subjects from the earliest times, and it was through them that our towns prospered. We cannot expel them."

The Portuguese were hostile only to the Muslims and their Faith and not to Nāyars and other unbelievers of Malibār.

SECTION 3

A treaty of peace between the Sāmūrī and the Portuguese; the erection of a fort at Kālīkūt by the Portuguese.

As the war between the Portuguese and the Muslims prolonged for many years, the weakness of the Muslims increased. Further the Sāmūrī, who had spent big sums in these wars, died. He was succeeded by his brother. The new Sāmūrī thought that peace with the Portuguese was the best course, for, it would enable his Muslim subjects to realise profits in trade as the people of Kashī and Kannanūr, and rescue them from bad state and poverty. So a treaty of peace was concluded between the Sāmūrī and the Portuguese. The terms were:

The Portuguese were to erect a fort at Kālīkūt, and allow the subjects of the Sāmūrī to go on a voyage every year in four ships to the ports of Jidda and 'Adan.

Then the accursed Portuguese began to build a solid fort, while the subjects of the Sāmūrī made preparations for their voyage in four ships loaded with pepper and ginger to the coast of Arabia. They started on their expedition to Jazrāt and other places, carrying with them passes from the Portuguese as others did.

This was in the year 920 A.H. or 921 A.H. (1514-15 A.D.)

When four ships returned to Kālīkūt from their voyage to Arabia, the Portuguese, who had at that time completed the building of the fort, forbade them to go on their voyage again to the

Arabian coast taking pepper and ginger in their ships. Thus the Portuguese monopolized the trade in pepper and ginger. Whenever they saw even a small quantity of these two spices in any ship that did not belong to them, they seized the ship, its contents and its crew. The Portuguese were the source of great affliction and distress to the Muslims and other subjects.

The Sāmūrī, who paid due regard to the peace, endured their wrong action with patience, because he was apprehensive of their wickedness. Nevertheless, he secretly sent letters to the Muslim sovereigns urging them to make preparations for war with the Portuguese. But the Sāmūrī did not find any Muslim king willing to engage himself in hostilities with the enemy, because it shall be as Allāh, exalted be He, wills.

The Portuguese were cunning and deceitful. They knew what advantages there were for their business. In hard times they made themselves very humble before their enemies. After they achieved their object they treated them abominably. They were united in sentiment and conduct, and never disobeyed the orders of their elders, in spite of the fact that they were far away from their rulers. It was rarely that disagreement in opinion happened among them. It was never known that any one of them ever killed his elder for the purpose of assuming power. These were the reasons why the rulers of Malibār and others submitted to the Portuguese in spite of their being a small party. On the other hand the Muslim soldiers and their *amīrs* quarrelled among themselves, and were striving to depose one another from power even by killing off.¹²

When the accursed Portuguese established themselves firmly in Kālikūt and acquired a steady position, they invited the Sāmūrī to their residence within the fort on the pretext of giving him the presents which were said to have been received by them from their ruler in Purtukāl. But their real design was to take him a prisoner.

12. This is a reference to the frequent quarrels between the Sultāns of Bijāpūr, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, Birar and Bidar, not to speak of their wars with the kings of Vijayanagar.

The Sāmūrī, after going there, understood that they had designs upon him from the gesticulation of a Portuguese man, and immediately left them on the pretext that he had to ease nature. Thus he escaped with the help of Allāh, and the Portuguese could not get him into snare.¹³ They became hostile to that particular Portuguese man and transported him and his family to Kanna-nūr.

1517 A.D.

In the month of Muḥarram, 923 A.H., the Portuguese made great preparations for war and started from Kūwa with a fleet of twenty-eight ships having designs upon the well-fortified port of Jidda. When they reached that port, the Muslims were much perplexed and greatly excited with fear. Luckily for the Muslims Amīr Salmān of Rūm was there at that time with two hundred soldiers and a number of corvettes, which had been dispatched by the Sulṭān Ghawrī to Malibār to fight against the Portuguese. The inhabitants opened fire from land against the Portuguese and some of their ships were destroyed. Then the Portuguese hoisted all sail, steered without the range of the cannon fire, and ran away. Amīr Salmān dispatched two vessels containing thirty men in pursuit of the run-away Portuguese. They captured at Kamrān one small corvette with twelve Christians and then returned with them to Jidda. After this the accursed Portuguese remained at Kamrān till the cessation of *mawsim al-Hind* and then returned to Kūwa, frustrated in their hopes. Such was the pleasure of Allāh.

SECTION 4

The hostilities between the Sāmūrī and the Portuguese and the capture of the fort at Kālīkūt.

1524 A.D.

Know then : the transgression and oppression of the Portuguese at Kālīkūt increased day by day and the Sāmūrī also was enduring

13. This incident is referred to only in this work.

that with patience. Matters were in the same state when the Portuguese engaged themselves in hostilities with the Muslims of Fandarīna who lived at Kālīkūt, on the 10th of Muḥarram, 931 A.H. Thus peace was broken, and hostile operations began.

Some of the inhabitants of Fandarīna, Janbā, Tiruwarankād, Barbūrānkād, and other places secretly sailed in small corvettes and captured about ten small trade vessels of the Portuguese. This event took place about 930 A.H. (1523 A.D.)

Further hostilities broke out in Kodungallūr between the Muslims and the Jews. The Jews killed a Muslim, and civil war broke out. The Muslims sent messengers to their brethren in various towns of Malibār and sought their aid to retaliate upon the Jews. The inhabitants of Kālīkūt with their relatives from Fandarīna, the people of Kābkāt and Tirkūd with their relatives from Shāliyāt, men from Barbūrānkād, Tiruwarankād, Tānūr, Barwanūr, Fannān, and Balīnkūt which is in the district of Shāliyāt, joined together, and decided to attack the Jews at Kodungallūr. They also resolved to wage war against the Portuguese and not to make peace with them except with the permission of the Sāmūrī. This happened in 931 A.H. (1524 A.D.)

The inhabitants of the towns mentioned above embarked in a fleet of about one hundred small corvettes and sailed to Kodungallūr where they killed many Jews. Those who escaped, ran away to a village near Kodungallūr that lay to the eastward of it. The Muslims burnt their houses and synagogues. Then they set fire to the houses and the churches of the Christians. They also put to death some Nāyars when they clashed with the Muslims. As a result of this there was no safety for the Muslim residents of Kodungallūr, and they had to be removed to other towns.

In the same year the Muslim inhabitants of Darmfatan, Idakād, Kannanūr, Tiruwarankād, Haylī and Janbā leagued together against the Portuguese and fought against them. The Muslims in other towns did in like manner.

1524 A.D.

In the same year some of the *faqīhs* in Kashī like Aḥmad Marakār, his brother Kunj 'Alī Marakār, their uncle Muḥammad 'Alī Marakār and other dependents felt the desire to wage war against the Portuguese. They left Kashī for Kālikūt. When the Portuguese became aware that most of the Muslims and the Sāmūrī were firmly opposed to them, they made great preparations for war, set sail from Kashī and attacked Fannān early in the morning of the third Saturday of Jumāda'l-ūlā, 931 A.H. and burnt many houses, shops and some mosques. They cut down many cocoanut trees on the banks of the river. Many Muslims suffered martyrdom. Then the Portuguese set sail on the second night of their arrival, and reached Fandarīna where they captured about forty corvettes that belonged to its inhabitants as well as to others. There again many Muslims fell as martyrs.

When the war broke out at Kālikūt between the Portuguese and some of the Muslims in Fandarīna, the Sāmūrī resolved to fight against the Portuguese. As he was at a distant place from Kālikūt, engaged in war with some of his enemies, he sent his chief *wazīr* al-Yadh¹⁴ by name with orders to fight against the Portuguese. The *wazīr* tried to do his utmost in his fight against the Portuguese and spent large sums of money on that account. The Muslims and the Nāyar soldiers of the Sāmūrī besieged the Portuguese. The Muslims from various towns went to Kālikūt in great numbers for the holy war in the way of Allāh. Then the Sāmūrī himself arrived there. By that time the Portuguese had exhausted their food supply, and they had no hope of getting fresh supplies from outside the fort. Therefore they decided to go out to their ships. They made an opening from within the fort in a part of the wall which was not visible to people outside and escaped, set sail in their ships and went away.

14. It appears the Zamorin had four *wazīrs*. They were Accan of Mangāt (മക്കോട്ടപ്പാർ) Elayadu of Tēnañcēri (തെന്നഞ്ചേരി) എളയതു near Malappuram and two others. The *wazīr* mentioned in the text was probably Elayadu.

This happened on the 16th of Muḥarram, 932 A.H. (1525 A.D.)

In this war, over two thousand men, Nāyars of the Sāmūrī, 'āmils and Muslims, were slain. The fury and enmity of the Portuguese against the Sāmūrī and the Muslims increased after the loss of the fort. This state of affairs lasted for a long time.

After the Muslims leagued together to fight against the Portuguese, they made ready small corvettes for their voyages, loaded them with pepper, ginger and other commodities and set out on their expeditions to Jazrāt and other places without taking passes from the Portuguese, being prepared to fight against them. Some of these vessels returned safe, while many either fell into the hands of the Portuguese or held on land by their instrumentality.

The inhabitants of Darmfatan and their dependants made peace with the Portuguese towards the close of the season, and started on their expeditions carrying with them passes from the Portuguese in accordance with the old practice when they were at peace with them. But the subjects of the Sāmūrī and their followers continued their enmity to the Portuguese for many years till they became weak, and exhausted their resources.

1528 A.D.

About the year 935 A.H. one of the ships that belonged to the Portuguese dropped anchor at Tānūr in the beginning of the rainy season, and the ruler of that place gave them shelter. The Sāmūrī dispatched a messenger to the ruler of Tānūr demanding from him that he should surrender the Portuguese who were in the ship, together with its cargo. But the Sāmūrī did not succeed in his purpose.

Then peace was concluded between the Portuguese and the ruler of Tānūr, and his subjects started on their trade journeys carrying with them passes from the Portuguese. Then the ruler of Tānūr and the Portuguese made an agreement by which the Portuguese were permitted to erect a fort on the northern side of the river Fannān, under his territory, with a view to weaken the position of the Sāmūrī, harass the travellers and to lay waste

Fannān. With these ideas the Portuguese set sail from Kashī equipping themselves with ships and corvettes loaded with stones and quicklime and anchored off Fannān. But with the help of Allāh stormy wind caused many wrecks. Some of the ships were cast away on the southern side of Balīnkūt. None returned safe except one small corvette. A large number of the Portuguese, their adherents and servants were drowned. Those who succeeded in reaching the shore were slain by the Muslims. A great number of men who were prisoners in the hands of the Portuguese were set free. The Sāmūrī gained all the big cannon. Thus Allāh frustrated the hopes of the Portuguese and their allies.

1530-31 A.D.

About the year 937 A.H. or 938 A.H. the subjects of the Sāmūrī and others set sail in a fleet of about thirty ships carrying merchandise to Jazrāt. 'Alī Ibrāhīm Marakār, his nephew Kutti Ibrāhīm Marakār and other distinguished persons were among them. Many of these vessels entered the ports of Jūjārī and Sūrat, while some of them sailed to Barūj. The Portuguese went in pursuit of them in their own vessels and corvettes, entered the rivers at Jūjārī and Sūrat and captured the corvettes that were there along with the contents. Those that were lying at Barūj escaped.

Before this event took place, the Portuguese seized many of the corvettes that were employed by Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Jazrāt to fight against the Portuguese. In the same manner the Portuguese captured on different occasions many corvettes that belonged to the people of Malībār, and the Muslims were reduced to weakness and despair.

The decree of Allāh is indisputable. *Verily we are for Allāh and to Allāh we return.*¹⁵

15. This verse from the holy Qurān is quoted when any unfortunate incident, particularly death takes place.

SECTION 5

The erection of a fort at Shāliyāt by the Portuguese ; the conclusion of peace between them and the Sāmūrī for the second time.

One of the highest officials¹⁶ of the Portuguese started from Kashī by land and presented himself before the Sāmūrī in the name of peace concealing treachery and deceit. He was very intelligent, cunning and deceitful in the fullest sense. He had friendship with some of the leading Muslim merchants and did business with them during the time of peace. He reached Fannān, and from there he went to the ruler of Tānūr and stayed with him till he brought about peace between him and the Sāmūrī.

The Sāmūrī who captured the fort at Kālikūt was a weak monarch, not very wise. He was permanently addicted to the habits of drinking. After his death Nambiyādhār, his brother, succeeded him. The new monarch was strong, brave, zealous and not punctilious in the observance of ancient customs prevalent among them. The weakness of that Sāmūrī (Nambiyādhār's brother) brought about great suffering to the ruler of Tānūr, the Sāmūrī himself and their adherents, and the successors of that Sāmūrī, because the Portuguese had built a fort at Shāliyāt which was the high way through which the Sāmūrī, his troops and all the travellers used to go. Moreover the trade from Kālikūt to the coast of Arabia through Shāliyāt, which was situated at a distance of about two parasangs from Kālikūt, also suffered. The Sāmūrī who was weak and addicted to the habits of inebriety, permitted the Portuguese to build a fort at Shāliyāt, after he won over to his side its ruler. Then the Portuguese went to Shāliyāt, in a big ship laden with necessary materials and instruments for the building of a fort. They entered the river of Shāliyāt towards the end of the month of Rab'ul'-ākhir, 938 A.H. (1531 A.D.), and erected a strong fort. They demolished the ancient cathedral mosque which was built there

16. The name of this high official is not known.

on the first introduction of Islām in Malibār—of which mention was already made along with other mosques—and made use of its materials for the building of the fort and the church.

In the course of the construction of the fort, one of the Portuguese carried away a stone from the cathedral mosque mentioned above, and the Muslim inhabitants of Shāliyāt complained of it to the chief Portuguese officer at that place. Immediately the officer went in person with his followers and gave orders that the breach should be repaired with stone and quick lime. This satisfied the Muslims who went away with good feeling.

Next day the Portuguese returned in great numbers, pulled down the entire building of the cathedral mosque and did not leave there a single stone. Again the Muslims complained to the Portuguese officer. He replied: "The ruler of your town had sold to us the mosque and the ground on which it was built." When the Muslims heard this reply they returned sorrowfully. Since that time they used to assemble for prayer in a small mosque situated at a great distance from their dwelling houses.

Then the accursed Portuguese dug out tombs from the Muslim cemetery and with the stones collected from there, they completed the building of their fort.

Before the fort was completed the Sāmūrī who was a weak ruler, died.

The new Sāmūrī (Nambiyādhār) was not a peacemaker. He fought with the ruler of Shāliyāt and laid waste his territory. In due course he submitted to the Sāmūrī, and made peace with him, agreeing to the terms dictated by the victorious ruler.

In that year Amīr Muṣṭafā of Rūm¹⁷ arrived from Makhā

17. Amīr Muṣṭafā, son of Bahrām of Constantinople was the nephew of Salmān Ra'īs, a Turk admiral and adventurer who entered the service of Salīm Shāh of Rūm and eventually became the lord of Yemen. On the death of his uncle in 1529 A.D. Amīr Muṣṭafā became the master of the Abyssinian slaves. His father Bahrām gave orders that he should help Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt against the Portuguese. Amīr Muṣṭafā arrived at Diu in 1531 A.D. and was received by Malik Tughān, son of Malik Iyās,

to Dēw in Jazrāt, with cannon and vast treasure. Malik Tūghan, son of Malik Iyās, was the governor of Dēw, representing Sultān Bahādur Shāh. After his arrival, the Portuguese went there with the idea of subjugating that port. Amīr Muṣṭafā of Rūm fought against them and cannonaded them with great vigour. The Portuguese were routed with the help of Allāh. They ran away in fear, disgrace and disappointment.

SECTION 6

Conclusion of peace between the Sāmūrī and the Portuguese for the third time

1533 A.D.

The Portuguese made peace with the Sāmūrī for the third time in 940 A.H., agreeing to certain conditions. One of these was that the Portuguese should permit four ships to sail from Kālikūt to the Arabian coast. Accordingly four ships set sail, during that season, to the coast of Arabia. The subjects of the Sāmūrī also started on their trade journeys to different cities carrying with them passes from the Portuguese.

Then the Sāmūrī attacked the ruler of Tānūr, and weakened him to such an extent that he was compelled to make peace with the Sāmūrī by surrendering to him his lands contiguous to Fannān, and the island in the neighbourhood of Shāliyāt.

the governor of the place. Amīr Muṣṭafā fought against the Portuguese and defeated them in a naval engagement off Diu in 1531 A.D. Bahādur Shāh, the sultān of Gujarāt conferred upon Amīr Muṣṭafā the title of *Rumī Khān* in recognition of his services and gave him as his fiefs Rander, Surat and all the adjoining coast as far as Mahim. Later Bahādur Shāh made him the Governor of Diu dismissing Malik Tūghan from that office. But Amīr Muṣṭafā deserted Bahādur Shāh in 1535 and took service under the Mughal emperor Humāyūn when he invaded Gujarāt. Amīr Muṣṭafā died at Chunār in 1538. (See M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, pp. 338-39).

The chief officer of the Portuguese who went from Kashī for the purpose of erecting a fort at Shāliyāt, mediated between the ruler of Tānūr and the Sāmūrī and brought about the peace.

Khwāja Husayn Sanjuqdār of Rūm, and Kunj 'Alī Marakār, brother of Aḥmad Marakār the *faqīh*, travelled by corvettes and arrived in Kālīkūt with large presents to the Sāmūrī from Sultān Bahādur Shāh. They also brought with them vast amounts of money with a view to induce the Muslims of Malibār, through the influence of the Sāmūrī, to go to Jazrāt in order that they might take part in the naval war with the Portuguese. But the Marakārs did not achieve their purpose.

They arrived at Kālīkūt on the 16th of Rabī'u'l-awwal, 941 A.H. (1534 A.D.).

SECTION 7

*Conclusion of peace between Sultān Bahādur Shāh
and the Portuguese; the Sultān hands over to
the Portuguese certain ports.*

1535 A.D.

Towards the end of the year 941 A.H. Sultān Humāyūn Bādshāh¹⁸ son of Babar Bādshāh,¹⁹ after he consolidated his power in Delhi, turned his attention to Jazrāt. He devastated some of the towns in Jazrāt. Bahādur Shāh was put to rout. He was filled with terror and so he sent messengers to the Portuguese, seeking their aid. In response to the message, they met Sultān Bahādur Shāh and an alliance was concluded between them, the Sultān granting to the Portuguese some of the ports that belonged to him, like Wassā and Mahāim

18. Humāyūn Bādshāh was the Mughal Emperor between 1530 and 1540 and 1555 and 1556 A.D. During the years 1540 and 1555 A.D. he was a wanderer, as he was deprived of his empire by Shēr Shāh.

19. Babar Bādshāh (Zahīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad) was the founder of the Mughal empire in India. He ruled at Delhi between 1526 and 1530.

and others. The Portuguese took possession of these ports and added to them the towns and lands in their neighbourhood. They derived from these possessions great advantages, and their power increased. Sultān Bahādur Shāh handed over to them the port of Dēw and permitted them to strengthen it. He also assigned to them half of the tax '*ushūr*'. They were also permitted by the sultān to rule over the place, and to strengthen its fortifications.

It may be recalled here that in olden times the Portuguese were longing to get possession of the island Dēw. They attempted several times to capture it during the reign of Malik Iyās and his sons. But they were never able to subdue it and they always returned disappointed in their hopes.

When their aspiration accorded with the will of Allāh, exalted be He, it became easy for them to get possession of it.

Allāh, glory be to Him, and exalted be He, had also decreed that Sultān Bahādur Shāh should die by the hands of the Portuguese. They killed him and threw his body into the sea.²⁰ *Verily we are for Allāh and to Allāh we return.* The command of Allāh is predetermined. Sultān Bahādur Shāh was slain on the 3rd of Ramaẓān 943 A.H. (1537 A.D.). After the martyrdom of the Sultān, the Portuguese took possession of the whole of Dēw and settled there.

Such was the decree of Allāh, the All-Wise and the All-Powerful. No one shall repel the judgment of Allāh, or dispute His will.

20. Bahādur Shāh ceded the island of Diu in 1535 to the Portuguese for their help against Humāyūn Bādshāh, and permitted them to erect a fort in that island. But subsequently he regretted his act and wanted to drive the Portuguese out of Diu. The Portuguese viceroy Nuno da Cunha was also aware of the Sultān's ideas. In 1537 while Bahādur Shāh was returning after a visit to the viceroy at Diu, he met his tragic end. The evidences regarding his sudden death are conflicting. According to some he was drowned; some say he was killed. But it appears the Portuguese were responsible for his death. (M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, pp. 374-383).

1537-38 A.D.

In the year 944 A.H. the Portuguese fell upon Barūnūr and killed Kutti Ibrāhīm Marakār, the nephew of 'Alī Ibrāhīm Marakār, and many others. They set fire to the town and then returned, notwithstanding the fact that they were at peace with the ruler of Tānūr and his subjects. Moreover, the inhabitants of Tānūr and Barūnūr used to go on their voyages with permits from the Portuguese. The reason for this act of violence on the part of the Portuguese appears to be that the people of Barūnūr sent a ship laden with pepper and ginger to the port of Jidda without taking a pass from them, and the one thing which the Portuguese detested most was the journey undertaken by others for purposes of trade in pepper and ginger to any place, and especially to the port of Jidda.

Then the Sāmūrī set out for Kodungallūr to fight against the Portuguese and the ruler of Kashī. The fight continued for many days. Allāh infused into the Sāmūrī's mind a dread of these people, and consequently he returned from Kodungallūr without achieving any thing. The Portuguese built a fort at Kodungallūr.²¹ It was a mighty barrier preventing access to the Sāmūrī.

'Alī Ibrāhīm Marakār and Aḥmad Marakār the *faqīh* and his brother Kunj 'Alī Marakār started in the direction of Qāil in a fleet of forty-two corvettes. When they arrived off Baytāla, they landed, securing their vessels with anchor. As they halted at Baytāla for a long time, they were perverted. The Portuguese went there in their corvettes, fought against them, and by the order of Allāh, they captured all the corvettes of the Muslims. In this encounter many Muslims fell as martyrs. This event took place towards the end of Sha'bān, 944 A.H. (1538 A.D.). The Muslims who escaped, left Baytāla for Malībār. When they arrived at Nallānballī, on their way, 'Alī Ibrāhīm Marakār died.

21. The fort was constructed in 1537 A.D.

About the middle of the month of *Shawwāl*, 944 A.H., (1538 A.D.) the Portuguese captured some corvettes that belonged to the inhabitants of *Kābkāt*, situated opposite to *Kannanūr*.

SECTION 8

The arrival of the Sulaymān Bāshā in the region of Dēw

1537-38 A.D.

In the year 944 A.H. Sulaymān Bāshā,²² the *wazīr* of Sultān Sulaymān Shāh about whom mention was already made, reached the port of 'Adan with about one hundred well-equipped corvettes, *barshas* and other kinds of vessels. He attacked the port, and killed its sultān by name Shaykh 'Amir ibn Dā'ūd and some of his principal men and took possession of the town.

Then he marched against Jazrāt and fell upon Dēw. He destroyed the major portion of the fort walls with big cannon he brought with him. In the course of the fight, Allāh infused into the mind of Sulaymān Bāshā fear of the Portuguese and he returned without success first to Miṣr and then to Rūm. Allāh had predetermined these events, subjecting His servants to test. The Portuguese repaired the fort at Dēw, and strengthened it tenfold.

A year after 'Alī Ibrāhīm Marakār's death, Aḥmad Marakār the *faqīh*, and his brother Kunj 'Alī Marakār sailed in a fleet of eleven corvettes towards *Silān*. But the Portuguese followed

22. Sulaymān Bāshā was one of the generals of Sultān Salīm of Rūm. He accompanied Sultān Salīm in his expedition for the conquest of Egypt in 1516 A.D. In 1525 A.D. he was made the governor of that province by Sultān Sulaymān the Magnificent. In 1535 he was sent to Yemen and Aden to put down a rebellion. On his return in 1537 he was again made governor of Egypt. On the death of Bahādūr Shāh of Gujarat in 1537, Sultān Sulaymān the Magnificent ordered Sulaymān Bāshā to proceed to Diu with a large fleet to put an end to the power of the Portuguese in

them, attacked and captured the corvettes in their possession. Many Muslims suffered martyrdom. The two Marakārs and those who escaped made their way to the ruler of Sīlān who treacherously put them to death. "*Verily we are for Allāh, and to Allāh we return.*"

SECTION 9

Conclusion of peace between the Sāmūrī and the Portuguese for the fourth time

As the Portuguese sought of the Sāmūrī peace, he agreed to it. He was then at Fannān. The rulers of Tānūr and Kodungallūr took part in the negotiations for peace and they tried their utmost to establish peace which was concluded in Sha'bān, 946 A.H. (1540 A.D.). The subjects of the Sāmūrī commenced their trade journeys carrying with them passes from the Portuguese.

On the 8th of Muḥarram, 952 A.H., (1545 A.D.), the Portuguese put to death Abū Bakr 'Alī and Kunj Šūfī.

Abū Bakr 'Alī was a Muslim leader of great eminence, resident at Kannanūr. He was the uncle of 'Alī Ādhrāja.²³ Kunj Šūfī was the father of 'Alī Ādhrāja.

India. Sulaymān Bāshā started for India in June 1537 and on his way sacked Aden early in August and hanged the Arab ruler of the place Shaykh 'Amīr ibn Dā'ūd along with other leading nobles. (See M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, pp. 400-402).

23. He appears to have been the Chief of Cannanore about 1545 A.D. The history of the family of 'Alī Ādhrāja is shrouded in mystery. According to the *Keralotpatti*, Cēramān Perumāḷ invited a Muslim family from a place called Āryapuram and installed it at Cannanore. But according to local tradition the earliest ancestor of the family of Ādhrāja was a Nāyar called Arayan Kuḷangara Nāyar, one of the ministers of Koḷattiri (Cīrrakal Rāja). This Nāyar is said to have lived about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. It is believed he became a convert to Islām and took the name Muḥammad or Muḥammad 'Alī. He continued to be the minister of Koḷattiri. After his death his descendants ruled over Cannanore with the title 'Alī Rāja.

Hostilities broke out on account of this and continued for many days. Then peace was established.

SECTION 10

Hostility between the Sāmūrī and the Portuguese

1550 A.D.

The reason for this hostility was as follows :

A treaty of peace was concluded on the 1st of Muḥarram, 957 A.H. between the Sāmūrī and one of the rulers of Malibār who was the important ally of the ruler of Kashī, and whose territory was contiguous to Kashī on the southern side. The ruler was styled *Pepper-king*²⁴ by the Portuguese, because large quantities of pepper were exported from his towns. He became one of the allies of the Sāmūrī and gave him his kingdom. The Pepper-king requested the Sāmūrī that his brother might be recognised as the fourth in the line of succession to the Sāmūrī. The Sāmūrī made his brother the fourth in the succession, in accordance with the ancient custom prevalent in Malibār. When the Pepper-king returned to his town, the ruler of Kashī and the Portuguese made hostile inroad into his territory. There was a battle and the Pepper-king was burnt to death. This event took place in Jumāda'l-ūlā of that year. When the news of the death of the Pepper-king reached the Sāmūrī, he set out immediately from Kūlikūt to fight against the Portuguese and their ally. He reached the town of the Pepper-king and waged war against the Portuguese and the ruler of Kashī, spending a vast amount of wealth. But he returned without gaining any advantage either for himself or for his ally.

24. Evidently the author refers to the Rāja of Vaṭakkenkūr (also called Pimienta) who was a friend of the Zamorin. His territory lay to the south-east of Cochin. (See K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, pp. 502-03).

On the 8th Jumāda'l-āk̤hira, a large body of the troops of the Pepper-king invaded Kashī, notwithstanding the barrier of the river between them and the town, burnt many of its dwelling-houses, and caused great damage to the inhabitants of Kashī. They resorted to this act of violence because their ruler was killed in the fight against the ruler of Kashī, and the Portuguese. May Allāh chastise them with a severe chastisement. It was in consequence of this war that there was enmity between the Sāmūrī and the Portuguese.

The Portuguese made great preparations for war, set out from Kūwa and fell upon Tirkūd, and burnt there many houses, shops, and the cathedral mosque. This event took place on the morning of Saturday, the 14th Shawwāl of the year mentioned above.

Next day the Portuguese attacked Fandarīna, and set fire to many houses, shops and the cathedral mosque, one of the earliest in Malibār. On Thursday, the 18th of Shawwāl, they attacked Fannān, and burnt many houses and four mosques including the cathedral mosque. In all these three towns a large number of Muslims suffered martyrdom.

Towards the end of Jumāda'l-āk̤hira, 960 A.H. (1553 A.D.) it was reported in Malibār that 'Ali of Rūm fell as martyr in the course of his fight against the Portuguese opposite to Karkar and his corvettes were captured by the enemy. May Allāh destroy the Portuguese as he destroyed the 'Ad and the Thamūd.²⁵

25. The 'Ad people, with their prophet Hūd, are mentioned in the Qurān in many places. They occupied a large tract of country in Southern Arabia, extending from 'Umān at the mouth of the Persian Gulf to Hadhramawt and Yemen at the southern end of the Red Sea. The people were tall in stature and were great builders. They forsook God, and oppressed their people. A three years' famine visited them, but they took no warning. At length a terrible blast of wind destroyed them and their land.

The Thamūd people were the successors to the culture and civilisation of the 'Ad people. They were cousins to the 'Ad, apparently a younger branch of the same race. Their seat was in the north-west corner of Arabia (*Arabia Petraea*) between Madina and Syria. With the advance

Verily we are for Allāh and to Allāh we return. Such is the decree of Allāh, the All-Powerful and the All-knowing.

On a previous occasion 'Alī seized some of the vessels that belonged to the Portuguese, descended upon the Funna Qāil, a village near Qāil, where the Portuguese lived in. He fought against them, put them to rout and devastated the place.

During the month of Rajab, 960 A.H. (1553 A.D.), Yūsuf, the Turk, arrived from Dēw-maḥall to Fanṣn, against the *mawsim*, bringing with him big cannon which he seized from the Portuguese.

SECTION 11

Conclusion of peace between the Sāmūrī and the Portuguese for the fifth time.

When the Portuguese proceeded along adopting the same course of action, the power and the strength of the Muslims weakened. The Sāmūrī concluded peace with the Portuguese. His subjects went on their voyages for trade carrying with them passes as others did.

The treaty of peace was concluded between the Sāmūrī and the Portuguese in the beginning of Muḥarram, 963 A.H., (1555 A.D.).

About two years or more after this peace, hostilities began between the Portuguese and the Muslims in Kannanūr, Darmfatan and the neighbourhood of these two towns. This enmity continued to exist for nearly two years. Then the Muslims made

of material civilisation, the Thamūd people became godless and arrogant. Their prophet and warner was Ṣāliḥ. They did not pay any heed to his warnings. When the cup of their iniquities was full, the Thamud people were destroyed by a dreadful earthquake, which threw them prone on the ground and buried them with their houses.

See Qurān, *Sūrā VII*, verses 65-79.

peace with the Portuguese and began to undertake journeys by sea taking with them passes as they used to do before.

During the period of the holy war against the Portuguese, a great leader 'Alī Adhrāja by name, who was energetic and zealous, spent a large amount of money in that war. But the ruler of Kōlattirī and his subjects in other towns did not lend support to Adhrāja. It was during that period the accursed Portuguese started out in angry mood to despoil Adhrāja of his islands in Malībār.²⁶ The Portuguese went in their corvettes and attacked the island of Amīnī where they killed a large number of inhabitants, captured more than four hundred men and women, plundered almost everything of value, and burnt many houses and mosques. Before they descended upon Amīnī, they went to Shaytlākam where they slew some of the people and captured some. The inhabitants in all these islands were ignorant of the use of weapons, and there was none competent to fight. Notwithstanding this, a large number of the people fought against the enemy and fell as martyrs. Of these the qāzī of the place, and a pious woman were worthy of note. The qāzī was an elderly person, virtuous and pious. Though the inhabitants of that island possessed no arms, they were prepared to give testimony of their faith in their religion and die as martyrs. They flung earth, and stones at the Portuguese, and inflicted blows on them severely with sticks till they were killed.

The islands of Malībār are many in number, but the biggest of these has within its limits only five islands; Amīnī, Kārdīb, Andūr, Kalfinī, and Malkī. Of the small islands the thickly populated ones are Aktī, Kanjmanjalā, Kaltan, Shaytlākam.

When Allāh, glory be to Him, exalted be He, wished to put His servants to the test, He granted respite to the Portuguese. He enabled them to establish their power in a large number of ports like the seaports of Malībār, Jazrāt, Konkan, and other places. They

26. This is a reference to the group of islands known as the Laccadives. One of the islands in the group was Amīnī, which even now goes by the same name.

had their sway over these places by opening trade factories in most of these towns. They built fortresses in Hurmūz, Masqat, Dēw-maḥall, Shamṭara, Malāqa, Malūkū, Maylapūr, Nākfatan and in other seaports of Shōlamandal, and also in many ports of Silān. Further they had reached as far as Sin. Their trade was flourishing in these ports, and elsewhere, while the Muslim merchants in these places were humbled and made to submit to the Portuguese as slaves. The Muslim merchants were not permitted to trade in all merchandise except in goods for which the Portuguese had a little interest. The commodities in which the Portuguese had interest yielded large profits. They assumed the right of exclusive possession of the trade in such commodities, and it was not possible for others to encroach on their rights. Their monopoly started at pepper and ginger but gradually they added in the list cinnamon, clove, spice and such other articles which yielded large profits. The Muslims were forbidden to do business in all these articles and to undertake sea-voyages for trade purposes to the Arabian coast, Malāqa, Āshī, Danāṣrī, and other places. Thus there remained nothing for the Muslims of Malibār, but the petty trade in arecanut, cocoanut, clothes and such other things. Their sea-traffic also was confined to Jazrāt, Konkan, Shōlamandal, and round about Qāil. As the rice was imported into Malibār, Kūwa and the ports of Arabia from Hannūr, Bāsalūr and Manjalūr, the Portuguese built their forts in these places with a view to hinder the rice from being brought to the people of Malibār. The Portuguese used to import merchandise from different parts of the earth, stored them in various parts of the districts and continued to augment it.

The rulers in different seaports submitted themselves to them to such an extent that the authority of the Portuguese in these places became supreme. The journey by sea was not possible for the Muslims except under the protection of the Portuguese and with their passes. Thus there was much trade for the Portuguese and they owned a number of ships. On the other hand there was a little traffic on sea for the Muslims, and their carrying-trade was through the ships of the Portuguese.

None ventured to capture the forts built by the Portuguese except Sultān 'Alī al-Āshī who waged a holy war against them. The Sultān captured Shamṭara and Jala'a and made them the

centre of Muslim influence. May Allāh reward him for this service to the Muslims. The Sāmūrī at Kālikūt was another ruler who dared to attack and capture two forts that belonged to the Portuguese, one at Kālikūt and the other at Shāliyāt. The ruler of Silān was the third ruler who made bold to capture all the forts built by the Portuguese in that island, but his conquests were not permanent as was the case in other places.

At the beginning, the Portuguese had regard for those who were under their protection and who took the pass from them. They never molested the owners of vessels who took passes from them except for some special reasons. But from about 960 A.H. (1553 A.D.) they delivered the passes to the masters of ships at the time of journey. If they could master the ships in the open sea, they took possession of the ships and the cargo. They killed the Muslims and others on board in the most wicked manner, butchered them, or drowned them after binding the victims with ropes, or tied a number of them together in nets and cast them into the sea.

1562 A.D.

In the year 970 A.H. or before it, they captured in Kūwa a large number of Muslim merchants who were Abyssinians, and compelled them to embrace Christianity. As they were tormented, many formally declared their faith in Christianity. But when they departed from them with whatever property they could carry, they reverted to Islām glorifying Allāh. But an Abyssinian woman whom the Portuguese compelled to embrace Christianity refused, and she was put to death.

SECTION 12

The causes for the enmity between the Sāmūrī and the Portuguese ; the Sāmūrī's corvettes set out to attack the Portuguese.

When the Portuguese acted with a heavy hand, the strength of the Muslims decreased owing to the interruption of their maritime trade. Then parties of men from among the inhabi-

tants of Budfatan, Tirkūd, Fandarīna and other places took steps to get ready small corvettes and implements of war and set out on their voyage without taking passes from the Portuguese, and fought against them. The Muslims succeeded in capturing a number of their corvettes and vessels. Then the inhabitants of Kābkāt, Bandar-al-Jadīd, Kālikūt and Fannān, who were subjects of the Sāmūrī, seized many of the vessels, and corvettes and took many Portuguese captives. The Muslims acquired great wealth in these enterprises. This victory is a sign of Allāh's grace in contravention to what the Muslims met with in the beginning of their war against the Portuguese. The Muslims captured a great number of ships that belonged to the unbelievers of Jazrāt, Konkan, and other places. In consequence of these activities the Portuguese could not undertake many journeys by sea, except with great precaution or sailing with a fleet of corvettes and vessels.

When the Portuguese did not get enough from the unbelievers they began to plunder the property of the Muslims oppressing them and tyrannising them. The main reason for this was that the majority of men who possessed corvettes were weak and not very rich, while the joint owners of corvettes competed with them in trade. If the duty levied on goods of the unbelievers was not adequate to their requirements, the Portuguese seized whatever they could get of the goods of the Muslims to make up the deficiency notwithstanding the fact that at the time of voyage they agreed with the Muslims not to seize their goods.

When they once seized the property of the Muslims they never restored it to the owner, for there was none among the Muslims who could enforce such a procedure. On the other hand the ruler of the port assessed a tax upon the goods seized from the Muslims. Nor will it be of any avail to compel the Portuguese to be faithful to their agreement. Such enforcement will be for those who are god-fearing, and there were few sincerely religious men among them.

1567 A.D.

In the middle of Ramazān, 974 A.H. the inhabitants of Fannān, Fandarīna, and others started from Fannān with a fleet of

about twelve corvettes and captured opposite to Fannān a merchant vessel of the Portuguese that sailed from Banjāla carrying rice and sugar.

On Saturday, the 8th of Jumāda'l-āk̤hira, 976 A.H. (1568 A.D.) the inhabitants of Fannān and Fandarīna and others who owned corvettes started from Fannān, with a fleet of seventeen corvettes. Kuttī Bōkar²⁷ was one of the parties. They captured off Shāliyāt a big *barsha* which started from Kaṣhī with great preparations, carrying nearly one thousand brave men, their allies and servants, besides a vast store of merchandise. In the course of the fight, fire broke out in the *barsha* and it was burnt. The Muslims secured some of the big cannon and captured more than a hundred Portuguese, brave and eminent men, besides servants and attendants. The rest perished either in the sea or in the fire. Plentiful praise be to Allāh.

Some days after this event the same party of the Muslims sailed towards Qāil, captured twenty-two ships that belonged to the Portuguese and their allies. These ships were laden with rice obtained from Qāil and in its neighbourhood, from Shōla-mandal and other places. There were also on board the vessels, three small elephants. The Muslims returned with their booty to Fannān, entered the river and disembarked.

1570 A.D.

In the latter part of the month of Jumāda'l-āk̤hira, 978 A.H. Kuttī Bōkar sailed at night with six corvettes along the river of Manjalūr, burnt many a fortress of the Portuguese along the shore, captured a small corvette and was returning safe without any loss. When he approached Kannanūr he came across fifteen corvettes that belonged to the Portuguese, and fought against them. In the course of the fight he fell a martyr and his body was lost. May Allāh's unbounded mercy be upon him. Only two of

27. Kuttī, in Malayalam and Tamil, means *small, young*.
Bokar is a modification of the Arabic name *Abū Bakr*.

his corvettes got off safely. He was sincere in his devotion to fight against the Portuguese.

'Alī Ādhrāja, a man of leading in Kannanūr, perceived that the Muslims were sinking into feebleness and degradation on account of the accursed Portuguese. He sent letters with presents to the mighty and generous Sultān 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, complaining of what had befallen the Muslims of Malibār owing to the tyranny and oppression of the Portuguese and seeking of him help to wage holy war in the way of Allāh for the purpose of rescuing those Muslims who were becoming weaker on account of the cruelty of the Portuguese. Allāh infused in the Sultān's mind the idea that he should get ready for an expedition against the port of Kūwa, the capital city of the Portuguese in Hind.

This city once belonged to the Sultān's grandfather. A treaty of peace had been concluded between 'Ādil Shāh and Nizām Shāh,²⁸ immediately after devastating Bijānagar and the death of its ruler. The terms of the treaty prescribed that they should subjugate Kūwa and Shiyūl.

Soon after he received the letter from Ādhrāja, Sultān 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh started in person with his ministers, reached Kūwa, and commenced fighting against the Portuguese. The sultān intercepted the food supply to them. 'Ādil Shāh sent a letter to the Sāmūrī intimating that he had commenced hostilities against the Portuguese in Kūwa. He requested in that letter that the Sāmūrī should assist him in this war and cut off supplies to the Portuguese. Already the Sāmūrī and his subjects were in a state of open

28. Nizām Shāh (Murtazā Nizām Shāh) was the Sultān of Ahmadnagar between 1565 and 1588. During the early years of his reign the affairs of the kingdom were controlled by his mother.

In 1570 Nizām Shāh and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr co-operated with the Zamorin of Calicut to drive out the Portuguese from Goa and Chaul, and divide their possessions. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh besieged Goa while Murtazā besieged Chaul. But both of them were frustrated in their attempts. The nobles of Nizām Shāh betrayed him by not only supplying the Portuguese with intelligence but also with provisions.

hostility against the Portuguese, for many years in the past. The messenger from 'Ādil Shāh delivered the letter to the Sāmūrī at Shāliyāt where he was busy fighting against the Portuguese.

Nizām Shāh and his *wazīrs* reached Shiyūl and attacked it. They battered at its fortification with big cannon. When it was about to be subjugated Nizām Shāh relaxed his efforts because he was distrustful of 'Ādil Shāh and had an overestimation of the Portuguese. Nizām Shāh stopped fighting and concluded peace, with the enemy.

As for Sultān 'Ādil Shāh, he might be exonerated from blame for the failure in his own undertaking, for Kūwa was far away from his encampment, and also the river lay between him and the city. Further the fortress at Kūwa was strong and inaccessible with extensive fortifications and it was not possible for any one to subjugate it except with the help of the Almighty Allāh. In addition to these impediments some of the *wazīrs* of 'Ādil Shāh joined hands with the Portuguese and agreed to depose the sultān and choose in his place one of his relatives who was then at Kūwa with the Portuguese. 'Ādil Shāh, who scented treachery, was afraid of the consequences and therefore left his camp in secrecy. When he reached a place of safety he sent for his *wazīrs*, imprisoned them, chastised them and deprived them of their ranks. Then 'Ādil Shāh concluded peace with the Portuguese on account of certain important reasons. But the Portuguese, during this interval of peace, strengthened the fortifications at Kūwa and made the city strong, and inaccessible in such a manner that no one could enter it from outside. This is ordained by Allāh, the All-Powerful and the All-Wise.

It should also be observed that Nizām Shāh, his *wazīrs* as well as those of 'Ādil Shāh, were perfidious to the sultān. They took bribes from the Portuguese, the enemies of Islām, and conveyed to them provisions and assisted them. May Allāh give them recompense for their evil deeds!

SECTION 13

*The battle at Shāliyāt and its subjugation***1571 A.D.**

The Sāmūrī stood firm with the resolution to lay siege to Shāliyāt²⁹ on account of the transgression of the Portuguese and the earnest request of the Muslims that he should fight against them, especially their entreaty that he should avail himself of the opportunity at the time of the Muslim expedition to Kūwa. However, the Muslims were not able to send ships and corvettes at the time and render assistance. The Sāmūrī appointed some of his ministers to lead the people of Fannān and a large number of the inhabitants who came from Shāliyāt for their assistance. These were joined on the way by the inhabitants of Barūnūr, Tānūr, and Barbūrankād. All these Muslims entered Shāliyāt during the night of the 24th or 25th of Šafar, 979 A.H. The battle began in the morning between the Muslims and the Portuguese. The Muslims burnt their houses situated outside the fort, the churches, and destroyed the fortifications built of mud. On the side of the Muslims only three suffered martyrdom while a large number of the Portuguese died. The enemy took refuge in the solid fort, built of stone, and settled themselves there. The Muslims and the Nāyar soldiers of the Sāmūrī besieged them. The Muslims from various towns also came there in flocks to take part in that holy war. They dug trenches around the fort and sat round it keeping watch all the time. It is rarely that the Portuguese could get provisions in secret. The Sāmūrī spent in that war a large amount of money. Two months after the siege began, the Sāmūrī went there in person from Fannān. The besiegers watched all the time by the side of the fort, so that the besieged, who could not get fresh supplies, exhausted all provisions available in the fort and ate dogs and such loathsome animals. Every day servants, men and women, who became con-

29. The Zamorin besieged the fort of Shāliyāt in 1571. The siege lasted for four months, and at the end of the period the Portuguese were completely defeated.

verts to Christianity, came out of the fort with their permission owing to the scarcity of food. The Portuguese sent provisions from Kashī and Kannanūr for the besieged in Shāliyāt, but rarely did these reach them, in spite of their great effort to convey the supplies safe from enemies.

During the siege, the Portuguese sent messengers to the Sāmūrī and sued for peace, offering to surrender some of the big cannon kept in their fort, and to indemnify amply for expenses incurred in the war. The Sāmūrī did not agree to it although his ministers were satisfied with the offer. When the Portuguese were in an extremely dangerous condition for want of food, and did not find any way to conclude peace, they sent messengers offering to surrender the fort and all that it contained, and the cannon, provided that a safe passage was given for them and protection for property in their possession assured, till they reached a place where they could feel safe and secure. The Sāmūrī agreed to these conditions and permitted the garrison to march out at midnight on the 16th of Jumāda'l-ākhirā, giving them a safe passage in accordance with his promise. They were sent away in a despicable condition, along with the ruler of Tānūr, who aided and abetted them. He was inwardly favourable to their cause but outwardly pretended to be a friend of the Sāmūrī. The ruler of Tānūr provided them with all necessaries and conducted them to Tānūr. After a time the Portuguese corvettes arrived there from Kashī. The ruler of Tānūr helped them to go on board the ship and was very good to them as he ought to be. The Portuguese reached Kashī in a state of deep depression.

The Sāmūrī took possession of the cannon and other things found in the fort. He pulled down the fort and removed stocks and stones, and left the arid ground. He transported major portion of the stones and timber used in that building to Kālīkūt. He also gave some of these material for the purpose of re-erecting, on the old site, the cathedral mosque which the Portuguese destroyed when they built their fort. The ground on which the fort stood and the surrounding area were given to the ruler of Shāliyāt in accordance with the terms of the treaty concluded in the beginning of the war.

After the Sāmūrī took possession of the fort and all that it contained, reinforcements for the Portuguese came from Kūwa by corvettes and ships. But these had to return disappointed by the will of Allāh and His assistance. All these happened because Allāh looked kindly upon us.

SECTION 14

The condition of the Portuguese after the capture of Shāliyāt.

Know then : The accursed Portuguese were in a fit of violent anger, after the subjugation of their fort at Shāliyāt. They were raging at the Sāmūrī and the Muslims and were waiting for an opportunity to destroy the towns of the Sāmūrī and erect fortifications either at Fannān or at Shāliyāt in order that they might harass the Sāmūrī and the Muslims in retaliation for their subjugation of the fort at Shāliyāt. Allāh did not make it easy for them to accomplish their purpose up to the close of the year 987 A.H. (1580 A.D.)

1573 A.D.

But on the 22nd of Shawwāl, 980 A.H., they descended upon Shāliyāt and burnt some houses and shops. In the following year they made a sudden attack upon Barbūrankād, and in the fight that ensued, four Muslims suffered martyrdom while many died on the side of the enemy. The Portuguese were not disposed to make peace with the Sāmūrī after he captured their fort at Shāliyāt, but cherished ill will towards him and the Muslims, and were lying in wait for an opportunity to attack them.

1577 A.D.

Then in the year 985 A.H. the Portuguese captured nearly fifty corvettes, big and small, which belonged to the Muslims and had been to Talnār to bring rice. Many Muslims suffered martyrdom; nearly three thousand men, Muslims and the companions of Halis became captives. This defeat for the Muslims reversed the progress of their trade. That is the decree

of Allāh, the All-Powerful and the All-Knowing. No one can understand the wisdom of these except He. But a glorious reward shall be for those who fight in the way of Allāh, suffer martyrdom, and endure with patience all misfortune. We hope that Allāh, glory be to Him, would soon show them a way out and give them sufficient strength to persevere in their course. Allāh will always provide relief to ease and happiness, for He has said :

“ So, verily with every difficulty there is relief :
Verily with every difficulty there is relief.”³⁰

In the beginning of the *mawsim* in the same year the Portuguese seized a large number of ships belonging to Jazrāt when they were returning from Jidda to which place they went from Sūrat. Some of these ships belonged to the mighty Sultān by name Sultān Jalālu'd-Dīn Akbar Bādshāh,³¹ and they contained valuable commodities. This wickedness on the part of the Portuguese brought about enmity between them and the Sultān. As they expected large profits from the plunder, they did not restore the property for the sake of peace. We hope that Allāh, glory be to Him, would guide Sultān Jalālu'd-Dīn Akbar, make him fit for war against the Portuguese and enable him to expel them from the ports like Dēw, Jazrāt, Damūn, Wassā and other places on account of this act of piracy, and then to drive them away from all the ports which they have under their authority. Verily Allāh is All-Powerful and most Competent to answer supplications.

Some of the Muslims who owned corvettes sailed into the river which flows into the port of 'Ādilābād. The Portuguese, who wanted to capture them, sailed after them. When they could not capture the corvettes they set fire to the whole harbour intent on burning every vessel that lay there, although some of the corvettes and vessels which belonged to the inhabitants of

30. Qurān, Sūra 94, verses 5 and 6.

31. This was Akbar the Great who was the Mughal emperor between A.D. 1556 and 1605.

Darmfatan, Kannanūr and other places had passes with them. Then they burnt the harbour at Qarāfatan. In consequence of this, the *nāib*³² at the port of Dābūl captured one hundred and fifty Portuguese men, including their chief officers and brave soldiers by some ruse. Then he put to death many of them, and sent some of them to 'Adil Shāh.

Sultān 'Adil Shāh appointed some of his *wazīrs* and troops to watch all the time by Kūwa, in order that they could prevent the inhabitants of that place and other towns from supplying provisions to them. The Sultān dispatched his messenger with letters and presents to 'Alī Ādhrāja, the Sāmūrī and the Kōlattirī seeking their assistance in his campaign at Kūwa and blockade against the enemy. When the messenger with his suite and presents arrived at Kūtūkulam, the ruler of that place imprisoned them all. This ruler, who was third in the succession to the Kōlattirī, acted in this manner at the instigation of the Portuguese. But the messenger alone escaped secretly and saved himself. The ruler of Kūtūkulam seized all the goods and presents. Ādhrāja and Kōlattirī sent letters to him demanding of him to return the goods and presents, but of no avail. If the messenger had not fled, he would have delivered him and his followers over to the Portuguese.

This event took place in 986 A.H. (1578 A.D.)

1578 A.D.

In that same year some of the Portuguese officers came to the Sāmūrī when he was in the temple³³ near Kodungallūr, held sacred among all the unbelievers of Malibār, and talked of peace with him. He agreed to it on the condition that they should build a fort at Kālikūt. But the Portuguese sought permission to build one at Fannān for which the Sāmūrī did not agree. Then he sent to Kūwa three responsible men from among his subjects, along with those Portuguese officers who came entreating for peace

32. Dabūl was under Bijāpūr. The name of the *nāib* is not known.

33. It was probably the Tirunāvāy temple.

in order that they might discuss the terms of peace. These representatives reached Kūwa in their company. They were received with great honour and respect by Bīzrū,³⁴ the chief of that place, who treated them with kindness and courtesy. Then they returned to the Sāmūrī. The negotiations fell through because the Portuguese wanted to build a fort at Fannān.

This attempt at peace took place in the year 987 A.H.

1579 A.D.

In this year (987 A.H.) peace was concluded between 'Adil Shāh and the Portuguese after they paid him a certain sum of money.

The ruler of Kashī made preparations for war against the Sāmūrī because he turned him from the temple mentioned above. He collected a large body of men. He also sent letters to Bīzrū, the chief of the Portuguese at Kūwa seeking his assistance in his war against the Sāmūrī, in response to which that chief sent a certain number of corvettes. All these joined together and fought against the Sāmūrī, who, in spite of his small army, was able, with the help of Allāh, to defeat the Portuguese and the ruler of Kashī. A large number of the allied forces were slain and put to flight. The Sāmūrī and his followers did not suffer any loss in spite of their small number.

Then the corvettes of the Portuguese set out from Kashī to obstruct the trade journeys of the Muslims, and captured their vessels and corvettes. May Allāh forsake them and chastise them with a severe chastisement!

1582-83 A.D.

In the *mawsim* of the year 990 A.H. or 991 A.H. the Portuguese were very carefully watching throughout the season for the followers of the Sāmūrī who dwelt in Kālīkūt, Bandar-

34. The Portuguese Viceroy at Goa in 1578 A.D. was Dom Diego de Menezes.

al-Jadid, Kābkāt, Fandarīna, Tirkūd and Fannān. In consequence of this, their journeys for trade purposes were completely interrupted and also their intercourse between neighbouring towns. The importation of rice was discontinued from Talnār. A terrible famine came upon them, the like of it was never seen by the people, because the Portuguese stuck to the ports mentioned above, unflinchingly without caring for food. They captured every vessel and corvette, till the Muslims were reduced to narrow circumstances and uttered spontaneously the following verse of the Qurān :

Our Lord! Rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors ; and raise for us from Thee one who will protect ; and raise for us from Thee one who will help."³⁵

During the *mawsim* in the following year peace was concluded between the Portuguese and the Sāmūrī. The terms were :

- (1) The Portuguese should be permitted to erect a fort at Fannān ;
- (2) the Portuguese should release all the Muslim prisoners in their captivity ;
- (3) the Portuguese should release all the subjects of the Sāmūrī kept by them as prisoners ; and
- (4) the Muslims should deliver to the Portuguese the prisoners of that nation.

The Portuguese delivered immediately to the Sāmūrī the few Muslim captives in their possession. Thus peace was concluded between the Portuguese and the Sāmūrī who permitted them to erect a fort when their chief officer would come to visit him in the following *mawsim*.

In the beginning of the *mawsim* which followed the treaty of peace, four vessels arrived from Purtukāl bringing their chief

35. Qurān, Sūra IV, verse 75.

who was appointed by their sultān. Of these four ships, two anchored at Kūwa, and two remained at anchor off Kūlam. The chief of the Portuguese, who was there already, was removed from his office. The new chief³⁸ and the Sāmuri could not meet each other, for the new chief did not stay at Kālīkūt to interview the Sāmuri, but went away to Kūwa. The Sāmuri who made everything ready to receive the new chief and had a fine selection of presents for him, was disappointed. When the new chief reached Kūwa, the Sāmuri sent some of his important men. They had an interview with him and the peace was ratified. The Sāmuri obtained for his subjects permission to carry merchandise to the ports of Jazrāt and other places as in former days and also the privilege to sail in two ships for trade purposes from Kālīkūt to the Arabian coast at the end of each *mawsim*.

May Allāh prosper the affairs of the Muslims, repair their losses and fulfil their desire.

Amen

38. After the union of Portugal and Spain in 1580 A.D. Dom Francisco Mascarenhas was appointed first Viceroy of Goa under the new regime.

A. NAMES OF PLACES AND DIVISIONS IN INDIA*

| | | |
|-----------------|---|--------------|
| 'Adilābād | perhaps a port near Dabhol | |
| Bab | Vaipin. An island between the backwater on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west and the Cranganore and the Cochin bars on the north and the south. | വൈപ്പിൻ |
| Balinkūt | Balliancota (Ernad Taluk) | വലിയൻകോട്ട |
| Ballaburam | Vadamalapuram (Cochin State) | വടമലപ്പുറം |
| Bandar al-Jadīd | (lit. new port). This place cannot be identified. | |
| Banjāla | Bengal | |
| Barrūnkād | Pazhayangadi (Cirakkal Taluk) | പഴയങ്ങാടി |
| Barbūrankād | Parappanangadi (Ernad Taluk). | പരപ്പനങ്ങാടി |
| Barūj | Broach. Ships from the western countries came, according to the author of the Periplus, to Barugaza or Bharukachchha, the modern Broach, and the merchandise brought by them were thence carried to the inland countries. | |
| Barūnūr | Parappur (Ernad Taluk) | പരപ്പൂർ |
| Bāsalūr | Basrur (South Canara District) | |
| Baytāla | cannot be identified | |
| Bijānakar | Vijayanagar | |

*The names of places which occur in the text are arranged in the following lists alphabetically, and their identifications are suggested against them.

| | | |
|--------------|---|-------------------|
| Budfatan | Valarapaṭṭinam or Balia- patam or Azhikkal (Cirakkal Taluk) | വളർപട്ടണം |
| Dābūl | Dabhol, south of Bombay | |
| Damūn | port of Daman, north of Bombay | |
| Darmfatan | Darmadam, (Dharma- paṭṭinam = <i>the place of charity</i>) an island form- ed by the junction of the Tellicherry and Anjar- akkandi rivers, just north of Tellicherry town. It is sacred to the Malayālis as the place where Cēramān Perumāl took his farewell of Malabar and sailed for Makka in Arabia | ധർമപട്ടണം or ധർമം |
| Dēw | Diu, in South Gujarat | |
| Fākkanūr | Barkur (South Canara Dis- trict) | |
| Fandarīna | Pantalayini, North Malabar | പന്തലായിനി |
| Fannān | Ponani, South Malabar | പെന്നാനി |
| Funna Qāil | Punnai Kāyal (Tinnevely District) | പുണ്ണൈ ക്കാ യல் |
| Hannūr | Honavar (N. Canara Dis- trict) | |
| Haylī | Mount Delly | ഏഴിമല |
| Haylī Mārāwī | Mount Delly | Do. |
| Idakād | Idakkad (North Malabar) | ഇടക്കട |
| Janbā | Chambra (North Malabar) | ചമ്പ്ര |
| Jazrāt | Gujarat | |
| Jūjārī | perhaps Janjira south of Bombay | |
| Jurfatan | Srikandapuram (North Malabar) | ശ്രീകണ്ഠപുരം |

A. NAMES OF PLACES AND DIVISIONS IN INDIA 97

| | | |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|
| Kābkāt | Kakkad (North Malabar) | കക്കട് |
| Kālikūt | Calicut (Malabar) | കോഴിക്കോട് |
| Kānjarakūt | Kasaragod (South Canara) | കാഞ്ഞിരക്കോട് |
| Kannanūr | Cannanore (North Malabar) | കണ്ണൂർ |
| Kashī | Cochin | കൊച്ചി |
| Kodungallūr | Cranganur (Cochin State) | കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ |
| Konkan | Konkan | |
| Kūlam | Quilon (Travancore State) | കൊല്ലം |
| Kumhurī | Cape Comorin (Travancore State) | കുമരി |
| Kūtūkulam | Kottayam ? (Malabar District) | കോട്ടയം |
| Kūwa | Goa | |
| Mahāim | Mahim, north of Bombay | |
| Malībār | Malabar | മലബാർ |
| Manjalūr | Mangalore (S. Canara Dist.) | മംഗലാപുരം |
| Nādhāwaram | Nadapuram (North Malabar) | നാഥപുരം |
| Nākfatan | Negapatam (Tanjore District) | நாகபட்டினம் |
| Nallānballi | Nallepalli (Cochin State) | നല്ലപ്പിള്ളി |
| Qāil | Kāyal Paṭṭinam (Tinnevely District) | காயல்பட்டினம் |
| Qarāfatan | Karwar, (N. Canara Dist.) | |
| Shāliyāt | Chaliyam (South Malabar) | ചലിയം |
| Shiyūl | Chaul (Bombay Presidency) | |
| Shōlamandal | Coramandel | (சோழமண்டலம்) |
| Sīlān | Ceylon | (இலங்கை) |
| Sūrat | Surat (Bombay Presidency) | |

| | | |
|--------------|--|-------------|
| Talnär | Talaimannar (Ramnad District) | தலைமன்னார் |
| Tänūr | Tanur (South Malabar) | താണൂർ |
| Tirkūd | Tikkodi (Kottayam Taluk, Malabar District) | തിക്കോടി |
| Tirkūri | Tecori (Trikkodi) same as Tikkodi | Do. |
| Tiruwarankād | Tirurangadi (Ernad Taluk) | തിരൂരങ്ങാടി |
| Wassā | perhaps Bassein | |

B. NAMES OF PLACES AND COUNTRIES IN WESTERN
ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| 'Adan | Aden. |
| Arabia | Arabia. |
| Badr | place of a famous battle between the Quraysh and the Prophet of Islām in 624 A.D. see page 30 n. |
| Hijāz | area comprised by Makka, Madīna and adjacent territory in Arabia. Arabia Petraea. |
| Hurmūz | Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. |
| Jidda | Jedda on the Arabian coast. |
| Kamrān | a small island in the Red Sea. |
| Karkar | perhaps a river in Trans- Caucasia to the west of the Caspian Sea. |
| <u>Khurāsān</u> | Khorasan. |
| Makhā | cannot be identified. |
| Makka | a place of pilgrimage in Arabia, the birth place of the Prophet of Islām. |
| Masqat | Maskat. |
| Miṣr | Egypt. |
| Purtukāl | Portugal. |
| Rūm | Byzantium or Constantino- ple, modern Istanbul. |

Shuhrsee page 37 *n* in this book.

Uḥud

a place of battle. see p. 27 *n*
in this book.Zifāra place on the Arabian
coast.

C. NAMES OF ISLANDS AND COUNTRIES
IN THE FAR EAST

| | |
|------------------|--|
| <u>A</u> shī | probably Achin, Northern part of Sumatra. |
| Danāṣrī | probably Danao in the Philippine island. |
| Jala'a | one of the islands in the Archipelago |
| Malāqa | Malacca in the Malay Penin- sula |
| Malūkū | Molucca island in the Dutch East Indies |
| <u>S</u> hamṭara | Sumatra |
| Sīn | China |

D. ISLANDS IN THE ARABIAN SEA

Aktā

Amīnī

Aminī

Andūr

Dēw-Maḥall

Maldives

Kalfīnī

Kaltan

Kanjmanjalā

Kārdīb

Malkī

Shaytlākam

GLOSSARY

Afranĵ, the franks, all Europeans.

'*Āmil*, an agent; a governor; an administrator; a collector of revenue; an official, officer, functionary.

Amīr, commander, governor, lord, prince, noble, chief; a person of rank or distinction.

'*Arsh*, the highest heaven, the empyrean (where the throne of God is), a throne.

Barsha (for *barshat*, pl. *barāsh*), *galiote* (long bateau couvert)
See R. Dozy, *Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes*,
Tome Premier, p. 72.

Dirham, a silver coin (of which from twenty to twenty-five have at different times passed current for a *dīnār*, which is nearly equal to a *ducat*, or *sequin*, about nine shillings; so that a *dirham* is worth about five pence.)

Faqīh, a Muslim lawyer, a theologian.

Faqīr, one possessed of one day's sufficiency for self and family (the entirely destitute being called *Miskīn*); poor man, beggar, religious mendicant.

Firdaws, a garden comprising everything that is in gardens or a garden containing grape-vines; an ample and beautiful garden; a garden containing grape-vines and palm-trees.

It also signifies a valley abounding with herbage, like a garden. In *Qurān*, the word is used in the sense of paradise, (*Sura* 23, verse 11), a garden of trees or a walled garden, or the highest of the stages of paradise or the middle and highest parts of paradise.

Ghāzī, one who engages in a warring expedition; one who fights against unbelievers; a warrior, a conqueror, a hero.

Ḥadīth, a tradition or narration relating to or describing a saying or an action of Prophet Muḥammad. See note in p. 13 in this book.

Ḥājjī (for ḥājj), a pilgrim to Makka; one who has performed the pilgrimage to Makka.

Hijra, (for hijrat) flight of Muḥammad, the Prophet from Makka to Madīna (which happened on the 16th of July, 622 A.D., and, in the reign of the *Khalīfa* 'Umar, was ordered to be considered as the commencement of the Muslim era).

'Id, a periodical festival, a festival day.

Imām, one who is followed or imitated; exemplar, guide, leader, head; minister of a mosque.

Janāza, a bier with a corpse on it; a bier.

Jihād, the using or exerting one's utmost power, efforts, endeavours or ability in contending with an object of disapprobation. This is of three kinds, namely, a visible enemy, the devil, and one's self, all of which are included in the term as used in the *Qurān*. The word is used in the text to mean fight against unbelievers, and the like; to fight in the way of Allāh, i.e., in the cause of religion.

Kalima, a word, speech, saying; the Islamic confession of faith i.e., "*There is no god worthy of worship but Allāh, and Muḥammad is His prophet.*"

Mawsim, season. See note in p. 53 in this book.

Mu'adhḥin, muezzin, one who proclaims hours of prayer from minaret.

Mu'min, a believer, an orthodox Muslim.

Nā'ib, deputy delegate, assistant, lieutenant, viceroy, vicegerent.

Qaṣr, shortening of prayer; a person who undertakes a journey to a place which is three days' distant from

his home is permitted to curtail his prayer from four to two *rak'at*.

Qāzī, Muslim judge or magistrate, who passes sentence in all cases of law, religious, moral, civil and criminal.

Sāmūrī, the Zamorin. See *note* in p. 21 in this book.

Sayyid, descendant of Fāṭima daughter of Muḥammad.

Shari'at, Muslim law as derived from the *Qur'ān*, and the teachings of the Prophet.

Shaykh, venerable old man, an elder; a head of a tribe or of a village; the head of a religious confraternity, a doctor of religion and law, a prelate; a reputed saint.

'Ushūr, a tenth, a tenth part.

Wazīr, vizier, minister of state.

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